

IN THESE TIMES

VOL. 13, NO. 33

SEPTEMBER 6-12, 1989

\$1.25

DRUGS

ANOTHER LOSING WAR



Rick Reason, © INX

The home front

PAGE 3

The Colombian front

PAGE 11

The Peruvian front

PAGE 12

The affront

PAGE 14



Black Panthers co-founder Huey P. Newton: a mortarboard and a mask of menace.

UPI/Bettmann Newsphoto

The wrong thing in Oakland and Brooklyn

By Salim Muwakkil

As the rose-colored haze of the Reagan years begins to lift, the perplexing plight of African-Americans is again attracting the nation's attention. Several recent studies and news documentaries have detailed the continuing problem of racism in this country. But none of those reports illustrates the situation better than two incidents on two successive days last month.

In the early morning of August 22, police found the lifeless body of Huey P. Newton laying in a pool of blood in the same Oakland neighborhood where in 1966 he co-founded the Black Panther Party. The 47-year-old Newton allegedly was murdered by a member of the prison-born drug gang called the Black Guerrilla Family. Few specifics are available about the killer's motives, but most accounts suggest the slaying was drug-related. According to many people familiar with Newton's lifestyle, he was a drug abuser and may have been addicted to crack.

One day later, in the Bensonhurst section of Brooklyn, a 16-year-old African-American named Yusuf K. Hawkins was shot to death in a racial attack by a gang of white youths. He and three friends had wandered into the predominantly white neighborhood reportedly to check out a used car one of them was interested in buying. The quartet was attacked by a gang of whites who were laying in wait to ambush black or Hispanic youths they thought were romantically involved with a neighborhood girl.

Hawkins was shot twice in the chest.

These two unrelated murders, perpetrated on opposite coasts, are vivid emblems of these turbulent times. They are also near-perfect allegories for the wrenching plight of the African-American male in the latter part of the 20th century.

Off the pigs: When Newton and Bobby Seale conceived of the Black Panther Party in 1966, they hit upon an idea as old as history itself: self-defense. For black Americans, it was a new idea. Many white Americans considered the idea downright subversive. Considering the divergent histories of blacks and whites in America, that white antipathy to black self-defense or any expression of separate self-interest is understandable. If enslaved Africans had been able to express their self-interest, they probably would have opted not to be enslaved, and those who understood the importance of slave labor to the entire American enterprise naturally were opposed to all assertions of black self-interest. That traditional hostility remains strong within a certain segment of the white population.

The Panthers were created to put a check on the rampant brutality that had become standard operating procedure for many urban police departments. Most African-American males reared in such neighborhoods could have readily recounted tales of racist police officers who routinely harassed, brutalized, even killed with impunity. For them, Newton and Seale represented a heroic divergence from the timid leadership of other black groups.

The issue of police brutality, in fact, remains a recurrent problem for African-Americans. Virtually every one of the "long hot summer" riots of the '60s was precipitated by incidents of police brutality. The riots in Miami's predominantly black Liberty City neighborhood in 1985 and again in 1987 also were sparked by reports of police brutality. Black filmmaker Spike Lee raised the issue anew this summer in his brilliant film, *Do the Right Thing*, and *New York* magazine political writer Joe Klein, expressing white America's traditional uneasiness with assertions of black self-interest, took him to task for it.

Panther idolatry: When about 30 Black Panthers marched into the California State Assembly at Sacramento in 1967, armed with rifles and wearing black leather and berets, they also marched into the hearts of millions of black baby-boomers who were discomforted by the non-violent pacifism of Rev. Martin Luther King and still traumatized by the assassination of the charismatic Malcolm X. Like nothing else, the Panthers symbolized the spirit of the times, and the organization spread like wild-fire. Soon there were Panther chapters in most major cities, and college campuses everywhere echoed the rhetoric of misunderstood Marxism that they popularized. During the Panther's most active growth period, Newton himself was in jail for the murder of a police officer—the perfect revolutionary act—for which the charges were later dropped. From 1974 to 1977 he lived in Cuba, hiding from charges of assault and murder that also were dismissed.

Newton's charismatic persona attracted devotees of all races, and some of the Panther's initiatives, like the programs of screening for sickle-cell anemia and of providing preschool breakfasts for children, were later adopted by more mainstream organizations. The Panthers started a newspaper that, next to *Muhammad Speaks*, was the most widely circulated black newspaper in the country.

But the Panthers were, at best, symbols of black outrage that accidentally sprung to life. The group's reckless rhetoric was at first a bracing kind of shock therapy for a nation indifferent to the brutal tactics of the police, but the practice soon degenerated into pointless provocation. In an audacious but failed attempt to provide an ideological justification for their existence, the Panthers grafted a political philosophy out of Marxism, elements of Frantz Fanon and Mao Zedong, and a little this and that thrown in at Newton's whim. The party's lack of doctrinal rigor soon became apparent, and ideological fissures became commonplace. By the time of the Panther's decline, the group already had split into several factions.

Newton was never able to transcend completely the street-life sensibilities that so defined his youth. Although he spoke gently and articulately, he could effortlessly slip on the mask of menace required by life on the street; in fact, that vague sense of danger was an important part of his allure. Those street-life sensibilities eventually proved to be more dangerous to Newton than the "pigs" he urged us to "off."

Indeed, police brutality remains problematical, but

INSIDE STORY

homicide is the leading cause of death for black males. And since crack has appeared on the scene, the black-on-black murder rate has accelerated. African-American males have become their own worst enemies, and the commanders of the drug wars are enlisting increasing numbers to help do the dirty work. Newton earned a doctorate degree from the University of California at Santa Cruz in 1980, but even a Ph.D. couldn't ward off three bullets from a drug dealer's 9mm automatic.

Yusuf's story: Just when a cautionary tale like Newton's story of self-destruction makes the case that African-Americans should turn inward and concentrate on exculpating the scourge of crack and self-hatred rather than obsessing about white racism, just when the Al Sharptons of the world begin losing all credibility in the black community for ceaselessly pointing their fingers at white racism and blaming it for all the ills of African-Americans, along comes an incident like the murder of Yusuf Hawkins and its disquieting aftermath.

Although New York City's major media is straining mightily to provide motives other than racism for the Hawkins murder—for example, many publications have reported that his slaying was a case of mistaken identity—there seems little doubt that the teenager was killed because he was black and happened to be in Bensonhurst. According to those who marched in demonstration through the neighborhood where the incident occurred, the residents seem unrepentant. "I saw some of the most intense hatred on the faces of that crowd than I've seen anywhere," said Rev. Herbert Daughtry, a Brooklyn organizer who has participated in many similar demonstrations. "Some of them said that if we dared enter their neighborhood again, they'd shoot us on sight. And I believed them." Daughtry said he was surprised by the age of some of the hecklers. The angriest slurs were coming from some of the youngest people, he said.

The dismaying realities underlying these two stories of murder offer a glimpse into the complexities and almost unbearable pressures facing many of today's black youth, particularly males. Under assault from within and without, African-American males need a sanctuary that can be provided only through the dedication and resources of those who understand the depth of the problem and are ready to act.

CONTENTS

Inside Story: Doing the wrong thing in Oakland and Brooklyn	2
The drug market—parallels to Prohibition	3
In Short	4
City statecraft: the foreign policies of municipalities	6
Cincinnati wiretappers sing a torch song	7
Down and out with the Democrats	8
Washington and Paris' entre-nuke secret	9
Colombia's coke kings are seeking status	11
U.S. drug policy in the Andes eradicates itself	12
Peru's politics of debt and desperation	13
Editorial	14
Letters/Sylvia	15
Viewpoint: From empire to importer, the hard way	16
Everybody's Business by David M. Kotz	17
In Print: <i>Family Farming</i> —growing interest in the Earth	18
Carl Bernstein's shifty <i>Loyalties</i>	19
In the Arts: Public Enemy and Guns n' Roses—race'n'roll ruckus ..	20
Red-diaper baby diaspora on film	21
Classifieds/Life in Hell	23
Steven Soderbergh's <i>sex, lies and videotape</i>	24

(ISSN 0160-5992)

Published 41 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, first week of March, last week of November, last week of December; bi-weekly in June through the first week in September by Institute for Public Affairs, 2040 N. Milwaukee, Chicago, IL 60647, (312) 772-0100. The entire contents of *In These Times* are copyright ©1989 by Institute for Public Affairs, and may not be reproduced in any manner, either in whole or in part, without permission of the publisher. Second-class postage paid at Chicago, IL, and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to *In These Times*, 1912 Debs Ave., Mt. Morris, IL 61054. This issue (Vol. 13, No. 33) published Sept. 6, 1989, for newsstand sales Sept. 6-12, 1989.

By Daniel Lazare

NEW YORK

ON A RECENT SATURDAY, 2,500 PEOPLE gathered in Washington Square Park in Greenwich Village to listen to music and speeches and, in a few instances, to light up joints. However, instead of heading for the nearest doughnut stand—the usual denouement for smoke-ins in the '60s—the crowd then marched five miles uptown to the very different political landscape of East Harlem.

There, while a reggae band played and curious residents leaned out their windows, speaker after speaker accused Rep. Charles Rangel (D-NY), the hard-line chairman of the House subcommittee on narcotics, of making the drug problem worse. By waging a high-tech war against an array of illegal substances, Rangel and others in the federal government have succeeded in putting a serious dent in the marijuana trade. But instead of reducing drugs generally, their efforts have backfired by opening up a vast new market for ultraprofitable substances that are more potent and portable. As a result, whereas marijuana was once cheap while cocaine was reserved for swank Hollywood parties, today, after close to two decades of stepped-up border interdiction, the relationship has reversed. Marijuana prices have soared, while the ultracheap, ultrapotent cocaine derivative known as crack has emerged as the drug of choice of the urban underclass.

"Pot is the only thing that works against crack," said Dana Beal, a stalwart of the '60s Yippies who is now the prime force behind the Coalition for 100-Percent Drug Reform, the organizer of the Aug. 26 rally. "It competes head-to-head with it on the street. A fair number of people have completely quit coke because they've gone back to pot, while others have quit pot because they've gone back to coke."

Unfortunately, Beal adds, due to the inverted price ratio, a mild intoxicant like marijuana is steadily losing on the retail level.

As Beal and other drug activists point out, marijuana provides an interesting perspective for viewing the efforts of federal anti-drug warriors over the last 20 years. Despite official disapproval, marijuana's fortunes back in the comparatively mellow '70s seemed unstoppable. As former radicals made their way into the mainstream, it seemed that their favorite recreational drug would as well. Grass was cheap and safe, and therefore a growing segment of the population seemed to believe that it should be as freely available as beer. Eleven states decriminalized simple possession, while one—Alaska—legalized cultivation for personal use. The idea seemed to be gaining ground at the federal level as well. Jimmy Carter indicated support, while a decriminalization bill introduced by the late Sen. Jacob Javits and a once-liberal congressman from New York named Ed Koch got as far as legislative hearings. NORML—the National Organization for the Reform of Marijuana Laws—reached a peak of 20,000 members.

Noxious weed: Then came the Big Chill. While Carter White House drug adviser Dr. Peter Bourne was advocating decriminalization and Hamilton Jordan was rumored to be snorting coke, plans were underway for a major U.S.-sponsored eradication effort in Mexico using the notorious herbicide called

The drug trade obeys the laws of commerce



paraquat. It was an example of political incoherence all too typical of the Carter administration. The fear of being poisoned by paraquat residue on their weed sent a shiver through the ranks of pot smokers and put a crimp on Mexican exports. But instead of eliminating the trade, it shifted it south to Colombia. Since Colombia was also a traditional processing and distribution center for coca paste from the Andes, newly glamorous cocaine began finding its way north alongside bales of Colombian Gold.

Thus the pattern was set. Instead of beating back drugs, the feds wound up distorting the market. In 1981, the Reagan administration, which regarded drugs as one element in a vast narco-terrorist-commie conspiracy to undermine the West, organized something called the South Florida Task Force to halt the flow of marijuana into places like the Everglades. Vice President Bush was placed

in charge, while Associate Attorney General Rudolph Giuliani—who would later advise an interviewer, "Talk to drug addicts and they will tell you they started with marijuana"—was given control of operations. Although skeptics joked that the task

In today's market, the most potent and dangerous drugs, like crack, have become the cheapest, while the least harmful, like marijuana, have vastly increased in price.

force specialized mainly in churning out press releases, it was actually highly effective. Interdiction, backed up by high-speed Coast Guard interception boats, high-tech radar, etc., worked. The drone of marijuana planes in remote areas ceased. Four years later, the Reagan administration launched a domestic eradication effort in areas like California's Humboldt County with similar results. Marijuana cultivation, at least outdoors, dropped significantly.

The results were soon apparent on the drug market. "Bud Bogart," as the author of *High Times* magazine's highly touted price quotes in the late '70s and early '80 was known, recently estimated that the wholesale price of medium-grade marijuana rose from \$90 to \$175 per pound in 1968-70 to \$1,100 to \$1,400 today, an increase of upwards of 200 percent even when inflation is taken into account. On the retail level, the increase was even more pronounced—from \$20 an ounce to upwards of \$200. Cocaine prices, on the other hand, followed a reverse trajectory, plummeting from approximately \$50,000 a kilo in the late '70s to \$10,000 today. By radically enhancing the mind-altering qualities of coke, crack brought prices down even more. Today, a vial of crack retails for about \$5, which is approximately the same as a loose joint. Yet there is no doubt as to which delivers more bang for the buck, which is why crack consistently beats out marijuana in street-corner sales.

Keeping up with the Joneses: "Prices used to reflect the dangers," observed Bud Bogart. "Heroin and cocaine used to be very expensive, while the cheapest thing was always pot. If you wanted to have an expensive jones, you had to have the money to pay for it. It was like a stairway where if you stayed on the lowest level, you knew you'd be all right. There was a kind of built-in protection."

In today's distorted market, however, drug prices are sending the opposite signals. The more dangerous and potent substances are also the most attractively priced. The reason is bound up in the economics of drug importation. As interdiction has grown more and more sophisticated in the '80s, smugglers' costs have risen, which is why they've been forced to recoup by switching to compact, odorless, ultraprofitable cocaine. Instead of messing with mother ships, cigarette boats, and bales of herb, they long ago realized that they could make far more money from a single suitcase filled with cocaine. By comparison, marijuana has become as profitable as beer during Prohibition.

Indeed, in this respect as in so many others, the '80s are the '20s redux. Anti-drug prohibition is fostering a binge-style consumption and a tendency toward ever-more-potent intoxicants, just as it did when the target was booze. The story is the same; the only things that have changed are the names of the controlled substances.

Prior to 1920, for instance, the U.S. was primarily a beer-drinking nation. Distilled spirits were drunk, of course, but usually straight, which for most people acted as a brake on consumption. With Prohibition, however, habits quickly changed. The highly potent cocktail, previously the exclusive province of the fashionable set, found its way into the middle class as well. One reason was that it was chic, but another was its usefulness in masking the taste of incredibly

Continued on page 10

IN THESE TIMES SEPTEMBER 6-12, 1989 3

INSHORT

By Joel Bleifuss

Patriotic predators

Lee and Carleen Bach first attracted public attention for a three-by-five-foot nylon flag, whipping in the wind at the top of a 30-foot pole at their home in Las Cruces, N.M. Their next-door neighbors objected not to the Bachs' patriotic fervor but to the flap, flap, flap outside their windows. Joe Smith of the *Las Cruces Bulletin* reports that despite help from a local bank that set up a Bach defense fund, support from a vigil of flag-waving pro-Bach demonstrators and the advice of the right-wing Washington [D.C.] Legal Foundation, Lee Bach was convicted on June 21 of violating a city noise ordinance. So he switched to a cotton flag, which didn't snap as smartly as the nylon version, and the charges were dismissed. After the dismissal, the Navy veteran said he would probably go back to flying a nylon flag. To him, the flag noises are the "sounds of freedom." But fervent public support for the couple vanished after charges surfaced that the Bachs had conned \$160,000 out of an 89-year-old woman whom Carleen had met through her job at the local Social Security Administration. Three weeks before Lee's June conviction the court-appointed attorney for Julia Peterson brought suit against the Bachs. After the suit was filed, Peterson was admitted to the hospital for dehydration, where she soon died. There is no evidence of foul play in her death, but the last time the Bachs were seen with their elderly charge, they were in the hospital force-feeding the struggling woman with a syringe. That syringe contained chicken broth, according to the Bachs' attorney, Norman Todd, who lives in a house the Bachs inherited in 1981 from another elderly woman Carleen had befriended.

Show me a legal morass

Missouri law says life begins at the moment of conception, and that's okay with the U.S. Supreme Court. But as Peter Wilson and Mary Nick-Bisgaard predicted in the August 2 issue of *In These Times*, the Missouri statute is raising some interesting legal dilemmas. On August 6, Lovetta Farrar of the Chillicothe (Mo.) Correctional Center sued the state for illegally imprisoning her five-month-old fetus without a trial. "If life begins at conception, then fetuses are supposed to be like anyone else—they're a person and they have constitutional rights," says Farrar's lawyer, Michael Box. And in Columbia, Mo., 20-year-old Bryan Rosner is trying to convince the courts that according to Missouri law he is actually nine months older than the date on his drivers license and thus cannot be charged with underage drinking.

Lip service

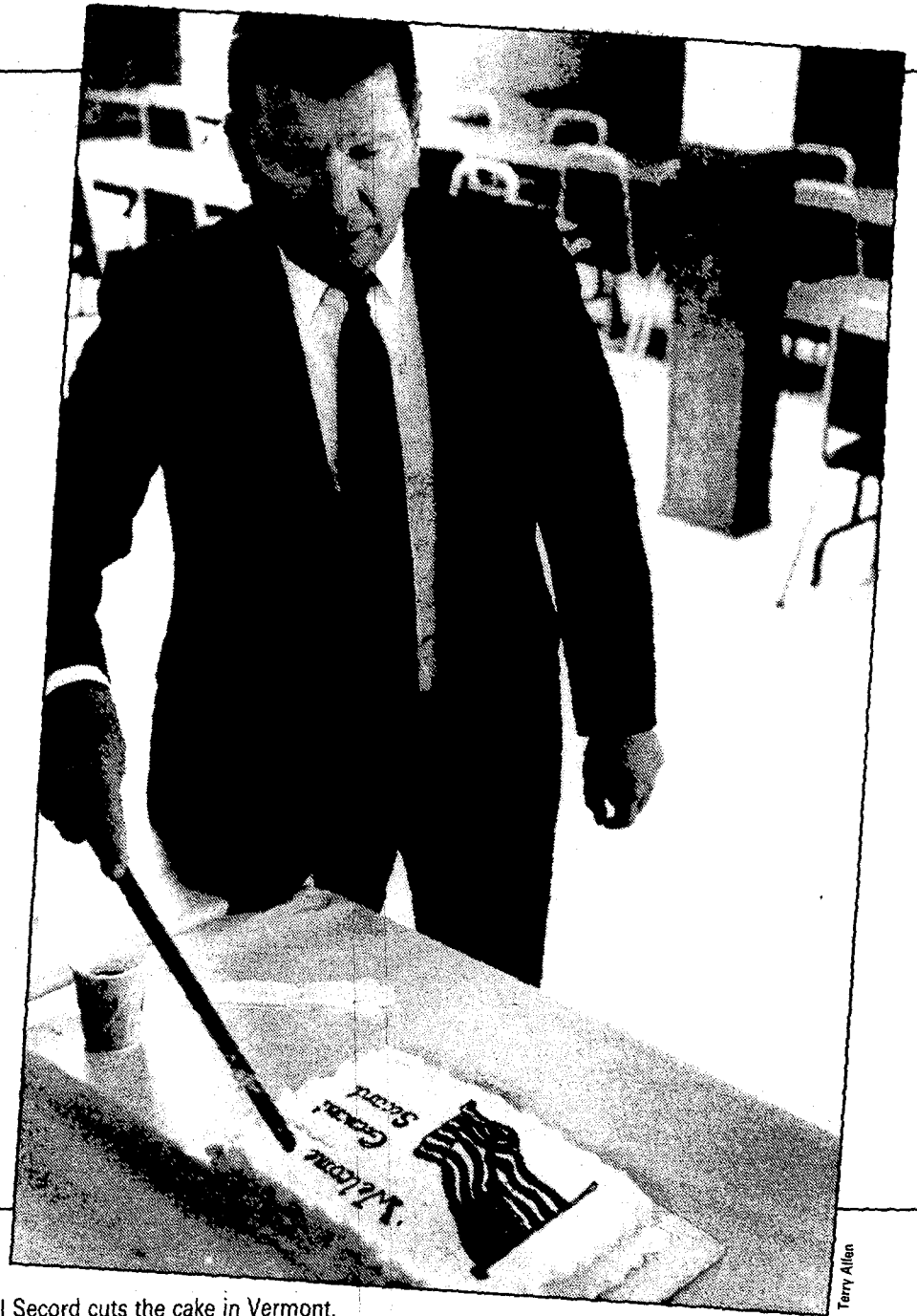
Imagine you had a dollar for every time a member of Congress has uttered the word "education" in the past year. You would be rich. But for many representatives, concern for education stops at their campaign coffers. The current *Common Cause Magazine* reports the following quote from John F. Jennings, staff director for the House elementary, secondary and vocational educational subcommittee: "We've had vacancies on our committees for years, and we've had to accept temporary members. Part of the reason is that members go to committees where they can get more PAC money."

Better a hen than a cock

According to Dallas Police Department policy, if you want to be a cop in Dallas you "must not admit [to] nor have engaged in deviate sexual intercourse [or] sexual contact with a member of the same sex since age 15 ... [or] with any animal or fowl since age 17." The Dallas Gay Alliance obtained a copy of the hiring policies after the department rejected a lesbian's application for a job on the force. Rex Wockner reports that members of the Dallas Gay Alliance are livid. The whole thing is "just sick," says activist John Thomas. "Texas is predominantly a rural state, and Texans are predominantly ignorant about sexual relationships. So they really are more comfortable with the idea of sex with animals and fowl than with their own sexual desires for someone of the same sex." According to alliance president William Waybourn, "It's obviously an accommodation to all the farm boys in Texas."

Art attack

On August 26 artists rallied in New York, Los Angeles and Chicago to raise public awareness about current congressional attacks on the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA), including funding cuts for the NEA's visual arts program and an amendment



General Secord cuts the cake in Vermont.

On the road with Richard Secord

CANAAN, VT.—Iran-contra defendant Gen. Richard Secord kicked off a national tour to raise money for his defense on August 21 at the American Legion Hall in this tiny town in the remote northeast corner of the state. He was invited to try out his road show by two buddies from West Point who live nearby.

Only about 50 people, mostly elderly legionnaires and their spouses, were in the hall, which could have held three times that number. "I came an hour early so I'd be sure to get a seat," said one disappointed supporter of the general. Another fan, Ann Hutchens, came from neighboring New Hampshire. "I like Oliver North and I like Secord, and I blame [Massachusetts Rep. Edward] Boland for everything," she said, referring to the congressman who sponsored the legislation that Secord allegedly helped violate while aiding the Nicaraguan rebels. Asked if she thought the U.S. should overthrow Nicaragua, she answered, "No, I wouldn't go that far. After all, they gave the contras a haven."

One man who worked in the hall was not surprised by the low turnout, despite extensive publicity: "People hereabouts," he said, "don't give a rat's ass for Richard Secord."

The event began with a salute to the flag and an impassioned rendering of "God Bless America." Flanked by plastic flowers and the flag, Sec-

ord described the world as a Cold War battlefield in which good and evil are palpable entities. "At the end of World War II we were the only superpower," he said. "We could have had an empire if we wanted one. [Instead] we were magnanimous to the victims who are now our opponents in the economic sense and to our war-torn allies who were basket cases."

Throughout the postwar period, the real protector of U.S. security against the Soviet menace, said Secord, has been "the CIA [which] was decimated for no good reason ... [and] had its hands tied by endless bureaucratic rules and [congressional] oversight."

The internal enemy of U.S. preeminence, he said, is the "increasing power" of the Senate. "The founding fathers had no idea Congress would be asserting rights to manage foreign policy and national security. If we don't get our act together," he warned, "the U.S. is in danger of becoming a third-rate power real soon.... The world is laughing at us all because we have a Congress blindly intent on getting more and more power."

Secord presented a picture of himself as an isolated patriot, who, not unlike the U.S. itself, has only tried to do good, and has been knifed in the back by the ungrateful recipients of his services. Like North, Secord feels unjustly "pursued" by the special prosecutor's office, which has charged him with providing illegal

gratuities to Oliver North and lying to Congress. The special prosecutor's office is "unconstitutional," a "first-class monster," he said, calling the prosecutors "hired guns and vigilantes who ride in and do the job of the president."

"I thought Reagan would go to bat for me," he said bitterly. "That was naive, wasn't it?" He was unremorseful and defiant about his role in the Iran-contra scandal, blaming Congress, which, he said, "forced" North and his associates to save the U.S. from "the mortal threat of Nicaragua ... [a country that] is Soviet-dominated and -supported from A to Z."

"Fighting with surrogates was a tool taken away from us, so we started covert actions," he said. Now that the tool of covert action has also been blunted, Secord is "pessimistic" about Nicaragua. Although he did not advocate a U.S. invasion for fear that Washington would be accused of gunboat diplomacy, he noted several times that the only way left to win Nicaragua and excise "the cancer" is with "an invasion like Grenada" of U.S. troops.

In an interview after his speech, Secord denied that the U.S. is duty-bound to respect the outcome of the upcoming elections if the Sandinistas win. "Why are we duty-bound? I don't know any laws that say that [we can't intervene]. If that nation presents a clear threat to our interests, I don't see anything like that in international law."

Secord gave the examples of "suc-

cessful" U.S. intervention in Grenada and Chile. "Is that a violation of international law?" he asked. "No, because the international lawyers put together a nice package [justifying it]. And it's not a violation of international law if it's successful. Have you

Evicted from due process

NEW YORK—"I am a 59-year-old black man," disabled veteran Sam Donaldson states in law suit that seeks sweeping changes in how poor people are treated in courts. The suit also aims to save a significant number of people from homelessness by arguing that anyone facing eviction has a constitutional right to counsel in court.

Donaldson, his wife and three children were threatened with eviction and homelessness last year, trapped—without a lawyer—between government bureaucracy and an insensitive landlord.

"If we are evicted, my wife and children and I will have no place to live and will be forced to seek temporary shelter from the [city] or to live on the street," Donaldson stated in the suit pending in New York State's Appellate Division. The suit, filed by a coalition of lawyers as a class action, moves to require the state to provide free lawyers to all poor people threatened with eviction.

Without a lawyer, Donaldson and

noticed that?"

At the end of the talk a few dozen people joined the general for coffee and cake. He looked uncomfortable with his stiff military posture in the casual setting. In icing on the cake, "Welcome General Secord" was writ-

his family could very easily join the more than 25,000 tenants evicted in city housing court each year. Ninety percent of these tenants went to court without a lawyer. Model programs show that Donaldson and thousands of tenants like him would have a much better chance of keeping their homes if they had legal representation.

The Donaldson family faces a Catch-22. The government stopped rent subsidies for their Bronx apartment in February 1988 because repairs were needed to bring the unit up to standards for apartments where landlords receive federal subsidies. By November the landlord had not made the repairs and moved in court to evict Donaldson's family for non-payment of the full rent.

Donaldson went to Legal Aid and Legal Services for help but was told that no attorneys were available—both programs suffered sharp cuts in funding in recent years. Donaldson was worried he could not make it through the chaotic world of housing court alone.

It is important to have an attorney in New York City housing court. In a two-year pilot project in New York City housing courts, tenants—many

ten next to an American flag. The flag section was left untouched until it was the only piece left. Finally, after an awkward pause, a legionnaire laughed with embarrassment and sliced off a piece of Old Glory.

—Terry Allen

of whom had already received eviction notices or had been thrown out of their homes—were given legal counsel. More than 80 percent of the tenants who were provided a Legal Services or Legal Aid attorney were saved from eviction or placed back in their homes.

The fact that nine of 10 landlords in housing court have an attorney and nine of 10 tenants do not raises the question of whether poor tenants are receiving the "equal protection" and "due process" promised in the 14th Amendment.

The Donaldson suit is part of a growing effort across the nation to press for a right to counsel, not only in housing cases but for mental-health patients faced with detainment and for parents faced with losing custody of their children. Attorneys in Connecticut and California are engaged in suits to establish these rights. And housing lawyers in Massachusetts are closely watching the New York case as they plot strategy in a similar motion.

A decision is expected in the New York Appellate Division soon. Whatever the outcome, the issue is likely to go to the state's highest court for review.

—Jeffrey Hoff

PACing the House and Senate

The Jim Wright and Tony Coelho affairs this past spring focused attention on the money flowing through the halls of Congress and ignited growing calls for changes in the laws that guide lawmakers' campaigns and personal finances.

"As with Watergate, a series of scandals could provide the opportunity for real reform legislation to be passed," says Edwin Davis, assistant director of issue development for the public-interest lobby group Common Cause.

To Common Cause, one definition of real reform would be to curb political action committees (PACs). "PAC money is corrupting the legislative decision-making process and taking the competition out of elections," the organization argues. "The role of PACs must be dramatically reduced."

Forbes magazine, in decrying the continuing domination of Congress by Democrats, noted the stagnating role of PACs: "Thanks in part to PAC money," a February article states, "some 98 percent of House members seeking re-election last year won as congressional turnover reached an all-time low." According to a Common Cause study, incumbents took in seven times more PAC money than did challengers during the last two-year election cycle.

The American Medical Associa-

tion's AMPAC, one of the richest PACs, provides an interesting example of the current state of power politics in Washington. An AMPAC spokesman explains PACs' disproportionate support of incumbents this way: "Most people who are involved in the legislative process prefer dealing with people they know."

The spokesman, who declined to be identified, says AMPAC does support "a number of reforms" like "public disclosure [of campaign contributions]; anything that strengthens that should be done." But, says the spokesman, tightening PAC monetary caps—now set at \$5,000 to a candidate for each election race—is "not realistic." And he says the group has "no problem" with the use of independent expenditure campaigns—so-called "shadow campaigns," in which the PAC places its own advertising on behalf of candidates, supposedly without contact or coordination with the official campaign.

In the last two-year election cycle AMPAC raised \$5 million for congressional candidates, placing it fourth among all PACs, according to the U.S. Federal Election Commission. The AMPAC spokesman refuses to give a breakdown of support between incumbents and challengers.

In addition to creating a nearly challenger-proof House, critics say, AMPAC and the other major PACs use their purchased "access" to wield powerful control over legislative action.

For example, according to Michael Waldman, legislative director of Ralph Nader's Public Citizen's Congress Watch, the power of AMPAC is such that it can help prevent a proposal like national health insurance from even being brought up. "It's a very powerful lobby," Waldman said. "So powerful they don't get into fights."

A more public-spirited, grassroots counterbalance to AMPAC and other top PACs such as the National Association of Realtors could conceivably come from the union PACs, several of which also rank in the top 10 in terms of generosity. The very first PAC, in fact, was established in 1943 by the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the CIO.

But, says Common Cause's Davis, union PACs have focused increasingly on protectionist legislation. The notion of a union PAC counterbalance, he says, is "not necessarily true."

"We're looking for laws putting more balance in the system," he says. Common Cause is calling for increased public funding, particularly for challengers; a tighter cap on the total amount of PAC money a candidate can receive; and campaign spending limits.

The only hope for this kind of reform, Congress Watch's Waldman says, is "a sea change in the ethical climate." And that, he says, is now "more of a possibility than at any other time in this generation."

—Josh Weiss

by Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) that would prohibit federal support of "obscene" art. Soon after Congress reconvenes on September 10, a conference committee of the House and Senate appropriations committees will meet to finalize the NEA budget. In Chicago, the protesting artists had hoped to find an elected official willing to make an appearance, or just send a message of support. Failing in that attempt, Peter Taub, one of the protest organizers and director of the Randolph Street Gallery, read a statement which said in part: "No one realizes the importance of freedom more than the artist, for only in the atmosphere of freedom can the arts flourish. Artists have to be brave; they live in the realm of idea and expression, and their ideas will often be provocative and unusual. Artists stretch the limits of understanding. They express ideas that are sometimes unpopular. In an atmosphere of liberty, artists and patrons are free to think the unthinkable and create the audacious; they are free to make both horrendous mistakes and glorious celebrations. Where there's liberty, art succeeds. In societies that are not free, art dies." Last week Taub explained his reasons for reading that statement: "There is a lot of posturing going on in Congress in response to pressure from the fundamentalist right and conservative right. But there is another posture possible. Artists and the art-going public have to make it viable by letting our elected representatives know that we support the arts. The rhetoric already exists." The statement Taub read at the Chicago demo was lifted from a 1985 speech by Ronald Reagan.



The Monroe Art Doctrine

In light of current events, it's time to note an art attack that began in August 1988 at the inauguration of Ecuador's social democratic president, Rodrigo Borja. Prior to the ceremony, Ecuadorian artist Oswaldo Guayasamin had finished a mural on the front of the Plenary Hall of the National Congress that celebrates the struggles and aspirations of his countrymen. One small section of the 360-square-meter artwork makes reference to Latin America's most nefarious interloper—the CIA. It depicts a soldier wearing what looks to be a Nazi helmet. On the helmet is written "CIA." The Reagan administration was not amused. Prior to the inauguration, then-Secretary of State George Shultz said he would boycott the event. He wound up going anyway, but soon thereafter U.S. Ambassador Richard Holwill relayed the message that the U.S. would cut off all economic aid to Ecuador if Guayasamin's offending graphic were not erased. In February the Bush administration backed down, but only after the president of the Ecuadorian Congress, Wilfredo Lucero, publicly exposed the blackmail attempt, denouncing it as an "outrageous and insolent" disregard for Ecuador's sovereignty.

Research assistance by Katharine Greider.

By Paul Rauber

BERKELEY, CALIF.

JARLE, SWEDEN, A SMALL TOWN ABOUT 200 kilometers west of Stockholm, recently declared war on France. Upset over continued nuclear testing in the South Pacific, Mayor Elof Elinder invoked a statute granted in 1642 by Queen Christina allowing towns to unilaterally declare war on foreign nations. Although no overt hostilities have been reported so far, Jarle is encouraging its citizens to boycott French food and wine until the testing is halted.

Even though they lack such powers, American cities are also becoming increasingly important actors in the exercise of global foreign policy. Long a source of derisive jokes against progressive-minded cities like Berkeley, San Francisco or Cambridge, foreign policy considerations are becoming a staple

FOREIGN POLICY

of city government from Seattle to Mobile. The increasing importance of international trade, the global reach of environmental crises and pressure from constituents shut out of power by nearly a decade of Republican rule, combined with cheap transportation and communication, take foreign policy out of the hands of the Washington elite and into the council chambers of communities across the country.

"It used to be that one could envision a local authority as a kind of hermetically sealed island which could not be influenced by outside events," says Michael Shuman, president of the Center for Innovative Diplomacy (CID), a non-profit organization dedicated to promoting direct citizen participation in international affairs, especially on the municipal level. "As cities have struggled with cutbacks in federal funds because of the Reagan rearmament program, as cities have had to deal with trade oscillations, Japanese competition and global environmental programs, these things are all reminders that cities must take international affairs seriously." While still not exactly commonplace, Shuman estimates that 1,000 to 2,000 of the country's 32,000 local government bodies have passed some kind of municipal foreign-policy initiative.

"Those of us who talk about the global community find that we don't encounter the ridicule we might have encountered as recently as five or six years ago," adds Larry Agran, who in addition to being CID executive director is also mayor of Irvine, Calif. Agran is accustomed to ridicule: the local *Orange County Register* refers to his election as a "coup," his followers "Agranistas" and the city's child-care program as "a baby gulag." Despite the 2-to-1 Republican registration of the county, Agran has been re-elected three times, leading him to boast of having established "a progressive local government that seems to be extremely well received in what would superficially be regarded as a conservative constituency."

Out of the fringe: Agran has tried to make his own Southern Californian college town a model of international engagement. The city has established an International Affairs Program that is being backed up with significant public funding. ("Unless we adequately fund and staff international affairs," says Agran, "it's going to continue to be perceived as a fringe activity.") The program promotes



Irvine, Calif., Mayor Larry Agran says there's a better climate for global-minded U.S. cities.

U.S. cities starting to act on the international stage

world trade for the city and works on developing ties with Irvine's sister city in Japan and with its proposed sister city of Hermosillo, Mexico. It also collaborates with Amnesty International on human-rights cases around the world, which the city takes on in an official capacity.

In April Agran joined California State Sen. Art Torres in a trip to Vietnam, where they sought the release of 30 political prisoners they hoped to have returned to their families in California. Agran hopes that by this fall all of the cases will have been resolved. "If we successfully conclude these cases," he says, "that will effectively silence the political opposition to our involvement in human-rights issues. You can't be for family on one hand and against family reunification on the other."

One reason for the new respect granted the municipal foreign-policy movement is its string of successes in forcing changes in national foreign policy. In the early '80s the nuclear freeze movement got an estimated 900 cities, states and counties to send telegrams to Ronald Reagan and Leonid Brezhnev demanding a bilateral, verifiable freeze to the arms race. While the freeze failed to accomplish its larger objective, Agran credits it with forcing Reagan to abandon his anti-arms-control rhetoric and to begin negotiating seriously on the INF and Start agreements.

Similarly, in the early days of the Reagan administration, 120 cities flatly refused to cooperate with the "civil defense" scheme proposed by the Federal Emergency Manage-

ment Agency (FEMA), which promoted the idea of a survivable nuclear war. "Cities effectively destroyed the nuclear war civil-defense planning of FEMA by our non-cooperation," boasts Agran.

By weight of numbers, municipalities changed the concept of divestment from South Africa from pure symbolism to a real tool for dismantling apartheid. More than 70 cities, 13 counties and 20 states have divested more than \$20 billion dollars from companies doing business in South Africa, finally forcing Congress to adopt serious, if limited, economic sanctions.

In addition, the 90-100 U.S. cities that have sister cities in Nicaragua have made an important contribution to providing vital economic aid and to derailing the national government's war effort. "These cities have sent tens of millions of dollars of humanitarian assistance to Nicaragua," says Shuman. "In fact, one can make an argument that if you put together both citizen and city-based humanitarian contributions going to Nicaragua, it has been roughly the same as the federal government shipped to the contras."

As cities have become active in substantive issues of foreign policy, sister cities have become more overtly political. Traditionally, most U.S. sister-city relationships have been established through an organization called Sister Cities International (SCI), which is largely funded through the U.S. Information Agency. Established in 1956 by President Dwight Eisenhower for the purpose of establishing international friendship and cultural

exchange, SCI shuns controversy. After the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, for example, it stopped approving sister relations with Soviet cities, and still abjures links with Nicaragua.

American cities, however, found they could do quite well on their own. Gainesville, Fla., led the way in establishing a sophisticated sister relationship with the Soviet city of Novorossisk. Several other cities followed suit, and eventually SCI granted its post-factum benediction to the Soviet projects.

Sisterly love: Other non-traditional sister cities are popping up in El Salvador and South Africa. Working through New El Salvador Today (NEST), seven U.S. cities now have sisters in the repopulated zones of El Salvador. According to NEST's sister city coordinator Margie Clarke, the U.S. sisters provide both material and political support. "And it's coming from places you wouldn't suspect, like Columbus, Ohio, and Baltimore, Md." Quick action by city officials in Baltimore and Berkeley has already been instrumental in saving the lives of the mayors of their corresponding Salvadoran sister communities, both of whom were detained by the military.

In South Africa, U.S. "sisters" have worked to save black communities from eviction to make way for whites, or from incorporation into "homelands," which entails the loss of the right to work in South Africa. Six U.S. cities, from Wichita, Kan., to Atlanta, now have sister communities in South Africa. According to Louis Freedburg, an expatriate South African who directs the U.S.-South Africa Sister Community Project, its goal is not only to provide political support for embattled black South Africans, but also to offer a new way to keep people involved in the anti-apartheid movement. "Divestment is fine," says Freedburg, "but what do you do after you've divested?"

Opposition to municipal foreign-policy initiatives comes less these days from philosophical resistance to the idea of foreign policy being made outside Washington than from challenges to particular proposals. The most serious such challenge is represented by a lawsuit against the tough, voter-approved Nuclear Free Zone (NFZ) in Oakland. Now that more than 160 cities and communities have declared themselves NFZs, the issue, like divestment, is threatening to move beyond mere symbolism.

Oakland's measure actually calls for the divestment of city funds from nuclear corporations, and the nuclear industry seems anxious to nip this trend in the bud. Acting through the conservative Pacific Legal Foundation, the industry is arguing that Oakland's NFZ interferes with national defense, regulates nuclear weapons and disrupts business. That, of course, is the idea—the battle is over whether it is constitutional or not. The case is considered crucial to the future growth of the NFZ movement.

Last November in Berkeley an initiative to adopt the Palestinian refugee camp of Jabaliya as a sister city seriously divided the city. Among the opponents was Mayor Loni Hancock, who argued that, unlike the proposal at hand, all of the city's previous foreign-policy positions had reflected a deep citywide consensus. "And if we cannot achieve consensus in Berkeley," Hancock

Continued on page 10

"Reach out and tap someone" was the fitting title of a two-part series published in *In These Times*' March 22 and March 29 editions. The series, by reporter Gregory Flannery, told of a growing scandal that started with a former Cincinnati Bell phone installer's admission that he had placed more than 1,000 illegal wiretaps between 1972 and 1984 at the behest of local police, the FBI and the phone company. His targets included a visiting U.S. president, three Congress members and a host of local politicians, lawyers, reporters and businesses. Now Flannery explores one of the scandal's most disturbing developments: allegations that the Cincinnati Police intelligence unit was behind a mysterious fire at a counterculture newspaper 19 years ago this week.

By Gregory Flannery

CINCINNATI

A FEDERAL INVESTIGATION INTO ILLEGAL wiretapping in Cincinnati may hold the answer to a 19-year-old mystery: who torched the *Independent Eye*? Since August of last year Cincinnati has been rocked by testimony about widespread monitoring of telephones. Two former installers and seven current and retired Cincinnati policemen have admitted to placing illegal taps. But wiretapping may have been just one part of the Cincinnati Police intelligence unit's assault on the Bill of Rights.

A lawsuit filed in July accuses the Cincinnati Police red squad of setting fire to the office of the *Independent Eye*, an underground newspaper, on Sept. 8, 1970. The Cincinnati fire department, which still lists the blaze as an unsolved arson, has reopened its investigation.

Like the reports of wiretapping that surfaced last year, the suggestion that policemen used firebombs at first found few believers. But—as with the wiretap allegations—the official response to the arson charges has served only to encourage doubts about police behavior.

Policing the police: The *Independent Eye* was an eclectic paper, heavy on left-wing polemics and rock'n'roll coverage. Former publisher Michael Wood, one of the four former staff members suing the city, described the publication as a community billboard. "The newspapers weren't publishing stories about the events and issues that young people were interested in," Wood says. "The *Eye* filled that vacuum."

Wood's characterization is something of a soft pedal. The *Independent Eye* seems daring even today, 14 years after it ceased publication. An ad in the April 23, 1970, edition, for example, offered "a reward in cash for information leading to the positive identification and exposure of undercover government agents (narks, FBI campus specialists, etc.) currently operating in the Cincinnati area." Throughout the summer of 1970, alongside articles such as "Will Bombings Go On?" the *Independent Eye* published photographs of undercover policemen at local anti-war demonstrations.

In the months before the fire, the newspaper waged a streetwise campaign against the police intelligence unit, publishing the names and license-plate numbers of its reputed agents. Alleged drug informants appeared in the paper under the caption "Warning!" and references to policemen carried the inevitable slur of "pig."

At about midnight on Labor Day in 1970, someone set fire to the first-floor hallway at an apartment building at 2283 Vine Street, in which the *Independent Eye* had its offices. The blaze caused about \$4,500 in damage.

Hot on the press: did police torch a Cincinnati paper?

Staff members had seen an undercover policeman in an unmarked car in the alley behind the building on the night of the fire, according to Wood. But even more troubling was the seizure of records by policemen immediately after the fire.

About 50 people—including Michael Avey, another plaintiff—saw undercover officers enter the *Independent Eye* office and carry out armloads of files, according to Wood. Photos published in the next edition showed file cabinets forcefully opened, apparently with an axe. Subscription lists and story files were missing. The only cabinet left untouched contained paint thinner—a detail that suggests the other file cabinets were not emptied in the name of fire prevention. While police and fire officials went through the paper's office immediately after the fire, no staff members were allowed on the premises, according to Wood.

The lawsuit filed by Avey and Wood accuses 10 unnamed policemen of setting the fire in order to gain access to the newspaper office.

"The funny thing is, the *Independent Eye* didn't get burned out," Wood says. "The fire was set in the middle of the hallway. The stairway acted as a chimney. There was no fire on the first floor, where the *Eye* was, except for the hallway."

Burning questions: The origin of the fire would remain a mystery for 19 years. Staff members suspected police but had little proof until 1988, when two former Cincinnati Bell installers went public with allegations of illegal wiretapping by the phone company.

This past December, Sgt. Howard Cade told retired Lt. Gary Simpson—who is suing Cincinnati Bell and the city of Cincinnati for allegedly tapping his phone—that the wiretapping went beyond the whistleblowers' description. Cade named seven policemen, including himself, who later admitted to placing illegal taps on so-called "political subversives and radicals."

In a deposition, Simpson testified that Cade told him the Cincinnati Police intelligence unit used a mixture of Score hair

creme and HTH chloride to start the fire at the *Independent Eye*. Arson investigators found that an accelerant was used in the fire, but its exact composition was unknown.

Two months ago the Cincinnati City Council released a report by John Baber, a private detective from Chicago hired to investigate police misconduct. Although Baber found no evidence of police involvement in the fire-bombing, critics charge that his investigation was flawed.

Former *Eye* staff member Avey, now a professor of political science at Northern Kentucky University, is one of those critics. He offered to identify policemen seen carrying

CIVIL LIBERTIES

files from the newspaper office, but Baber refused to show him photographs. Wood claims he called Baber four times to offer information, including the names of eyewitnesses, but Baber never interviewed Wood.

A lawsuit charges that police were behind the fire at the office of an underground newspaper in 1970.

"He did the report without doing the investigation," Wood says. "It's obviously a whitewash. The reason the lawsuit exists is because they're not honest. The city is incapable of investigating itself."

But Assistant Cincinnati City Solicitor William Gustavson, who represents the city in the suit over wiretapping, said the *Independent Eye* suit is without merit. "Police-bashing is easy," Gustavson says. "I have worked on the wiretap suit for a while now, and there has been no evidence to support the allegations. The lawsuit is preposterous."

The firebombing allegations, however, are just one part of the suit. The plaintiffs also charge that the intelligence unit illegally

wiretapped the *Independent Eye*, and here the plaintiffs seem to be on more solid legal ground.

This past March four policemen signed a statement admitting that they had wiretapped "radicals" in a house on Dixmyth Avenue. The policemen said they could not remember the exact location, but Wood thinks it was the *Independent Eye*'s post-fire office at 532 Dixmyth Avenue. Wood lived there, as did a collective run by the Students for a Democratic Society.

Taps and tricks: Supporting Wood's claims are snippets of information from heavily censored FBI documents obtained under the Freedom of Information Act. For example, an Oct. 16, 1970, memo from the special agent in charge of the Cincinnati FBI office discussed surveillance on an unnamed resident of 532 Dixmyth Avenue.

"The area around his current residence does not lend itself to physical surveillance," the memo stated. "Cincinnati feels a survey of the building in which [deleted] is living should be made, and also of the surrounding area, for the purpose of locating a suitable position for a [deleted]"

The FBI deleted the rest of the sentence before releasing the document to Avey, but the context indicates that the FBI planned a wiretap, Wood says. "They ruled out physical surveillance," he says. "They were going to try electronic surveillance instead."

Terry Hamad, who lived two doors up from the *Independent Eye* office, said the newspaper's neighbors suspected the building was wiretapped. "We knew they were being watched," Hamad remembers. "There was always a guy on the pole across the street. We laughed about it because they were so obvious."

Other documents point to collusion between the FBI and the Cincinnati Police intelligence unit in dirty tricks against the *Independent Eye*. A July 8, 1970, FBI memo detailed a plan to use a phony photograph to sow dissension among the leftists.

"Cincinnati is preparing photographs of [deleted], a former Cincinnati SDS activist," the memo stated. "These photographs will be submitted to the laboratory so they can be processed to show [deleted] in a compromising situation with a well-known officer of the Cincinnati Police intelligence unit."

The FBI also obtained the *Independent Eye*'s bank records and opened files on subscribers who paid by check.

"What we're talking about is secret police," Wood says. "We're talking about wiretapping and harassment. We're talking about the sabotaging of a newspaper to keep people from thinking about the issues. The fire-bombing is just the most notable incident."

Avey said the wiretap scandal gives insight into Cincinnati's well-known conservative ethos. "The use of such repression to stop anti-establishment political activists is routine in Cincinnati," he says. "One of the reasons Cincinnati is so conservative is that activists are sabotaged and harassed."

Avey and Wood are demanding \$3 million in damages for alleged violation of their civil rights. But the potential damages are not the important thing, Wood says.

"It's a little bit larger than a lawsuit," he says. "The lawsuit is one tactic. What we're looking to do is expose the corruption in this city. I don't think we're going to get \$3 million, but we are going to get the truth."

Gregory Flannery is a reporter for Cincinnati's *Mt. Washington Press*, which broke the wiretap story.

IN THESE TIMES SEPTEMBER 6-12, 1989 7



Michael Wood: "We're talking about the sabotaging of a newspaper to keep people from thinking about the issues."

The Democrats keep on drifting —not right, not left, just away

By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON

AFTER DEMOCRATIC NOMINEE MICHAEL Dukakis lost 40 states to George Bush last November, Democrats fell into a deep depression. But the Democrats recovered when they realized that they had not only held Congress, but had increased their margin in the Senate. When the administration stumbled in its first two months, the Democrats in Congress asserted themselves—blocking the nomination of former Sen. John Tower to be secretary of defense and winning administration agreement to phase out the contras in Nicaragua. But now as Congress returns from its summer recess, Democrats are back in the doldrums.

The congressional Democrats appear passive and confused—without a positive legislative agenda. The Democratic congressional committees and the Democratic National Committee are in the throes of a fundraising crisis—a product of pessimism about the party's future. Potentially strong candidates are bowing out of 1990 Senate races. And opinion polls are showing a marked shift toward the Republican Party, particularly in the South.

Capitol losses: In Congress, the Democrats have not been able to develop a legislative agenda that plays to the party's political

strengths. The Democrats acquiesced to the Bush administration's plan to make taxpayers rather than bankers foot the bill for the savings and loan bailout. Now House Democrats appear ready to accept a version of Bush's proposal to lower capital gains taxes.

During the presidential campaign, Bush had pledged to reduce capital gains tax rates from 28 percent to 15 percent. This kind of cut would undermine the anti-loophole 1986 tax reform, which made capital gains taxable

POLITICS

at the same rate as any other income. It would also favor the rich. According to a study by the Joint Committee on Taxation, four-fifths of capital gains savings accrue to the wealthiest 5 percent of the population.

Democrats maintained a united front against Bush's proposal until June, when Rep. Dan Rostenkowski (D-IL), the powerful chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, buckled. Concerned about reducing deficits, he was impressed by the idea that in its first two years the Bush reduction would increase rather than decrease revenues by encouraging a rash of assets sales. Rostenkowski announced that he would be open to a compromise on the Bush proposal.

When the new House leadership of Speaker Tom Foley (D-WA) and Majority Leader Dick Gephardt (D-MO) reproached him for breaking ranks, Rostenkowski backed down, but the damage was already done. In Rostenkowski's committee, conservative Georgia Democrat Ed Jenkins won the support of other southern Democrats for a compromise that would reduce capital gains taxes from 28 to 19 percent for two years. The administration applauded Jenkins' compromise, and Rostenkowski acknowledged that with Republican backing, Jenkins' proposal stood a good chance of passing his committee and the House.

Jenkins' proposal makes even less sense than Bush's original plan. While one could argue that an unconditional reduction of capital gains tax rates would encourage investors to take risks they might otherwise forgo, Jenkins' two-year window of opportunity would merely encourage investors to unload their assets while they were taxable at lower rates, discouraging rather than encouraging new investments. Its only virtue was to increase revenues temporarily and to gladden local coupon-clippers.

By promoting this kind of policy, Democrats not only hurt the economy, but they also subvert their strongest political appeal: that the Democrats are the party of the middle and working classes and the Republicans are the party of the rich.

Weak leaders: The Democrats' acceptance of Republican economic policy stems partly from their lack of national leadership. The party has no national leader. Dukakis is in disgrace even in his own state, New York's Gov. Mario Cuomo continues to be coy, the Rev. Jesse Jackson is busy putting the squeeze on Washington Mayor Marion Barry, and Democratic National Chairman Ron Brown is preoccupied with trying to convince wealthy Democrats he is not a pawn of Jackson. In Congress, the situation has reached crisis proportions.

In the House, Democrats lost two of their most effective leaders, Speaker Jim Wright (D-TX) and Majority Whip Tony Coelho (D-CA). Both men were tainted by scandal, yet Wright knew how to wield power and Coelho was the party's most effective fundraiser. Earlier this summer Rep. Mickey Leland, an important bridge between white moderates and the most militant blacks, died in a plane crash. And now Barney Frank (D-MA), one of the Democrats' most effective public spokesmen and a brilliant legislator, has been hurt by a sex scandal. Even if Frank chooses to run for office again and wins re-election, his influence will be greatly diminished.

As a group, the new House leaders are not as effective as the old. Speaker Tom Foley (D-WA) is a conciliator and compromiser who has not stood up to Democratic conservatives or to the Republican opposition. During a press conference on August 24, Foley criticized the capital gains tax cut for favoring the wealthy. Then he added in typical fashion, "I'm perfectly prepared to be convinced to the contrary." The Democrats' strongest leader is Majority Leader Gephardt, but on Gephardt's key trade issues he is opposed by Foley, an ardent free trader who represents a rural agricultural district.

In the Senate, George Mitchell (D-ME) has proved to be a more effective public spokesman than former Majority Leader Robert Byrd (D-WV), but Mitchell's forte is articulating positions that the majority has already developed. He would function best with a Democrat in the White House whose pro-

The new Democratic House leadership is weaker than the old one. The party is short of money, ideas and strong candidates. The abortion issue is its only plus.

gram he could promote. And now that arms control is no longer a central issue, Majority Whip Alan Cranston is a liability. During the S&L debate, Cranston's contribution was to try to make the bill more palatable to the California bankers who had helped precipitate the crisis.

Money and candidates: As the Democrats look toward the 1990 congressional elections, they find themselves being outgunned by the Republicans in money and candidates. All the Democratic committees lag far behind their Republican counterparts. For the first five months of this year, the Democratic National Committee raised \$2.484 million and the Republican National Committee \$12.933 million, or more than five times the Democratic total. The Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee raised \$2.69 million, compared to the National Republican Senatorial Committee's \$15.849 million.

The Democrats are also having trouble recruiting strong candidates to take on Republican incumbents or to contest open seats

in the 1990 Senate elections, when 16 Democratic and 18 Republican seats will be up. In North Carolina, former Gov. Jim Hunt has rejected a rematch against Sen. Jesse Helms (R-NC). In Minnesota, former Vice President Walter Mondale turned down a campaign against Sen. Rudy Boschwitz (R-MN). In Colorado, former Gov. Richard Lamm would not run for the Senate seat vacated by Sen. William Armstrong (R-CO). All these potential Democratic candidates were running ahead in the polls.

Perhaps most telling, neither Rep. Lee Hamilton (D-IN) nor Rep. Jim Jontz (D-IN) are willing to challenge Sen. Dan Coats, a political featherweight who was appointed to fill Sen. Dan Quayle's Indiana Senate seat. As the *Cook Political Report* points out, six of the last nine appointed senators have lost their re-election bids.

On the other side, Republicans are fielding strong candidates against Democratic candidates. Rep. Lynn Martin (R-IL) is challenging Illinois Sen. Paul Simon, Rep. Tom Tauke (R-IA) is taking on Iowa Sen. Tom Harkin, and Rep. Claudine Schneider is running against Rhode Island Sen. Claiborne Pell. The arithmetic is ominous. The Democrats must win seats in 1990, because in 1992 they face a situation where they are going to have to defend the majority they barely won in 1986, when there was no presidential contest to help the Republicans.

The Democrats have also not been doing well on other fronts. This year 128 elected officials in the South have switched from being Democrats to Republicans, including two congressmen. After winning the first two congressional races in Alabama and Indiana, the Democrats have lost two in a row, most recently the August 27 race to fill Rep. Claude Pepper's Miami seat.

Finally, the polls do not look good for the party. Democrats for the '90s, a Washington group, commissioned an extensive survey of voter attitudes toward the two parties. According to the unpublished survey, a copy of which *In These Times* obtained, 37 percent of voters think of themselves as Democratic, 30 percent as Republican and 29 percent as independent. But the two parties are at parity among whites, and Republicans hold an almost two-to-one edge among white voters under age 35.

The survey also found that voters by 43 to 34 percent said they trusted the Republican Party more than the Democratic Party to "lead the country." Voters also held a 43 percent positive to 21 percent negative opinion of the Republicans, while holding a 34 percent positive to 27 percent negative opinion of the Democrats. In short, in all except overt party identification, the Republicans now have an edge.

The Democrats' only bright spot is an unexpected one: abortion. In this year's two main races, the New Jersey and Virginia gubernatorial contests, the Supreme Court's decision in *Webster vs. Reproductive Health Services* has benefited Democratic pro-choice candidates running against Republican pro-life candidates. But the abortion debate runs across class and party lines, and if Democrats began beating pro-life Republicans, anti-abortion Republicans will begin fudging their own positions.

If the Democrats are to survive and grow, they must re-establish themselves as the party of the middle class and the Republicans as the tribunes of the rich. The Democrats can't do this while promoting a tax cut that will benefit only the top 1 percent of Americans. □

NEW YORK MARXIST SCHOOL SEPTEMBER 1989 LECTURE SERIES

Marx's Theory and Developments in Socialist Transition, Richard Levins, Friday, September 8, 8 PM

Ghosts of Law (art opening), Bob Dombrowski, Sunday, September 10, 6 PM

International Grass Roots Organizing, German Young Democrats, Monday, September 11, 6 PM

On Puerto Rican Independence, Mildred Colon, Victor Vasquez, and Agustin Lao, Saturday, September 16, 8 PM

The Mayoral Elections and Progressive Politics, Bill Henning, Utrice Leid, and others, Wednesday, September 20, 8 PM

Charter Revision: Perestroika for the Ruling Class? Bob Fitch, Jackson Chin, Leslie Low, and Angelo Falcon, Thursday, September 21, 8 PM

Beyond the Democratic Party, Lenni Brenner, Friday, September 22, 8 PM

Ecology, Economics, and North/South Solidarity, Yanique Joseph and Michael Renner, Tuesday, September 26, 6 PM

Right to Life? Eleanor Bader, Thursday, September 28, 8 PM

Class Transformations and Socialist Transitions, Richard Wolff and Stephen Resnick, Friday, September 29, 8 PM

**NEW YORK MARXIST SCHOOL
79 LEONARD STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10013**

Classes begin October 2.
For Fall Schedule of classes and lectures,
call (212) 941-0332.
Enjoy a pre-registration discount!

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

RICHARD ULLMAN'S ARTICLE ON "THE SECRET French Connection" in this summer's issue of *Foreign Policy* had the ingredients to explode official myths surrounding the French nuclear *force de frappe*. French officials and media hastened to defuse the bombshell by playing down the revelations. As a result there was no immediate explosion of scandal. But the story remains a time bomb.

Ullman, a Princeton professor of international relations who worked on the policy planning staff of the Pentagon and the National Security Council in the '60s, revealed what he called "the best-kept secret" in Washington: a close Franco-U.S. nuclear cooperation that began in 1961, was interrupted when Charles de Gaulle took France out of the NATO military command in 1966, resumed in 1972 and was strengthened in the '80s under Francois Mitterrand.

To get around laws banning sharing of nuclear secrets, Americans let French weapons designers play "20 questions" to get them on the right track of weapons innovations, Ullman said. The French in return agreed to plan Soviet targets jointly, thus letting themselves be drawn back into the NATO military command they still officially refuse to rejoin.

From a legalistic American point of view, the main scandal is that this cooperation was apparently against the law, because Congress had authorized nuclear cooperation only with Britain. From a French point of view, the scandal is the loss of credibility of the much-vaunted independence of the nuclear deterrent that a generation of political leaders have claimed guaranteed France's independence—from the Americans, among others.

The broader geopolitical and strategic scandal, however, is much worse.

Coup of the decade: The Ullman revelations confirm the "Gaullist" policy option taken by Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger in 1972, when looming defeat in Vietnam lead them to seek military surrogates. Kissinger's biggest coup was the alliance with China against the Russians at the expense of the Vietnamese. This most cynical of all real-politik coups allowed the U.S. to abandon Vietnam, while China took up the harassment of that unfortunate country by arming fanatical Maoist Cambodians (Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge) to strike across the border in the late '70s, provoking the Vietnamese invasion and keeping Indochina in turmoil to this day. China justified this reversal of alliances by adopting the doctrine identifying Soviet "hegemonism" as "enemy No. 1."

The opposite number of the Nixon-Kissinger China gambit was a much less ambitious French maneuver. France, like China, is one of the five permanent members of the Security Council, which are also the five overt nuclear powers. In the '60s, France, like China, had broken with its "superpower," although in an incomparably less concrete and more purely rhetorical way.

In January 1968 de Gaulle made a startling speech to his war college, pointing to the world's political uncertainties (who will govern the U.S. or the USSR in 20 years time? he asked) and concluding that France's nuclear retaliation capacity must be pointed "in all directions." The French expression used by de Gaulle, *tous azimuts*, was odd enough to catch on. More often than not, it

U.S. nuclear policy hides an old French connection



Henry Kissinger and Richard Nixon: playing nuclear footsie with France.

was used ironically, hinting at the general's unlimited pretensions.

Within half a year de Gaulle was shaken by May 1968, and 15 months later he resigned as president of the Fifth Republic. *Tous azimuts* never really got off the ground.

Still, the Gaullist claims to total French national independence had created a rhetorical standard that other French politicians

FRANCE

had to keep up or risk appearing servile to the American superpower. It has remained habitual for French leaders to stress the independence of France's nuclear defense. For the president, his sole access to the nuclear doomsday button makes him the very embodiment of national sovereignty and greatly enhances his domestic prestige.

Perhaps more than most other American leaders, Nixon and Kissinger knew not to take mere words too seriously. They saw, first, that an "independent" French force needn't necessarily be independent, and second, that the illusion of its independence could be a useful card in European politics.

In the early '70s, the U.S. was negotiating arms control agreements with the Soviet Union. The principle had to be parity between the two superpowers. But the U.S.-Soviet symmetry was in fact accompanied by a major strategic asymmetry: while the U.S. had no major nuclear adversary other than the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union had to think about a hostile China to the East and two nuclear NATO countries, Britain in France, in the West.

The U.S. could obviously not be held responsible for China. And thanks to the

worldwide renown of Gaullist rhetoric, it might not be held responsible for France either. Thus as the U.S. cut back its NATO nuclear commitments in balanced agreements with Moscow, France could be building up "independent" nuclear forces to take their place.

This, anyway, is what has been happening. Under the label of "modernizing," France has been expanding its nuclear arsenal, while refusing to take part in nuclear disarmament negotiations between the superpowers.

In December 1987 in Washington, Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachov signed the treaty getting rid of their land-based intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF). This outlawed all land-based nuclear missiles of a range between 500 kilometers (310 miles) and 5,000 kilometers (3,100 kilometers)—so long as they are American or Soviet. French, Chinese and Israeli missiles are not covered.

Behind closed doors: Ullman discloses that the U.S. helped France develop miniature warheads and independently targetable multiple warheads. In return, French presidents and commanders agreed to coordinate target plans. This information about targeting is particularly significant because it tends to rule out any possible independent French use of its "independent" *force de frappe*.

The French deterrence doctrine has always remained deliberately vague, the better to deter. The official Gaullist doctrine is that the *force de frappe* is only to deter a Soviet violation of French territory, and not for use inside NATO to fight battles over Germany. The idea is that France could destroy enough of the Soviet Union—at least several cities—

to cancel any Soviet gains from conquering France. This is called *la défense du faible au fort*—defense of the weak from the strong.

An alternative and older doctrine that integrated the French force into the defense of Europe, but in a bizarre and necessarily sneaky way, was the "trigger" doctrine. This was developed by General André Beaufre in the early '60s, in response to the new U.S. "flexible response," interpreted in Paris as a de facto withdrawal of the French strategic nuclear umbrella in favor of a nuclear battlefield in Europe. The idea was that in case the Americans refused to use their strategic forces to counter a Soviet invasion, the relatively small French force could serve as a "trigger" to set off a strategic nuclear exchange between the superpowers.

It could do that best, of course, if it could fire missiles from its nuclear submarines in such a way that nobody could be sure who fired.

An interesting detail of recent revelations about Franco-U.S. cooperation is that the U.S. has refused to help France with technology to make nuclear submarines more silent. Keeping track of the French subs is also a measure of protection against the "trigger." Obviously, American strategists cannot seriously encourage a French strategy aimed at forcing the U.S. into a doomsday nuclear exchange with the Soviet Union it prefers to avoid.

Finally, the U.S. is getting ready to introduce a completely new electronic Air Command and Control System (ACCS) into European NATO in the '90s. France has no early-warning system of its own and has to depend on information passed along from the U.S. Last February Mitterrand agreed to open negotiations with NATO for France to take part in ACCS. Meanwhile, the French are developing the short-range Hades missile that, despite its formal appellation of "pre-strategic," is a battlefield weapon. The ongoing French nuclear weapons testing at Mururoa in the South Pacific aims at miniaturization. Whatever it's called, the French program is becoming more and more of a surrogate for the Americans in Europe—under U.S. control.

Calm after the storm: In the current political torpor in France, Ullman's disclosures caused no visible ripple. The leftist weekly *Politis* ran a cover story, using a copy of the 1961 Franco-U.S. accord obtained in Washington. In France, such texts simply are not to be found. *Politis* wondered whether more than \$6 billion a year wasn't too much to pay for a myth.

Even on the left, criticism is on grounds of national independence. *Politis* saw the Ullman article as part of a U.S. political strategy: the Americans would certainly like "to be able to count the French *force de frappe* in East-West negotiations. That would allow Washington to resume leadership in Europe, thus justifying its armaments projects like SDI, the sinister Star Wars."

Which Americans are *Politis* talking about? Those who seriously want to pursue disarmament with Moscow must eventually think of including the French forces, one way or another.

On the other hand, all-too-clever strategists in the Nixon-Kissinger tradition may think that it is fine to go on flattering the French fiction of total independence, while using the *force de frappe* as a nuclear wild card in the game with Moscow. □

IN THESE TIMES SEPTEMBER 6-12, 1989 9

Drugs

Continued from page 3

foul home-brewed liquor, in which household garbage, decayed meat, or even dead rodents were used for fermentation. Heavy drinking became fashionable as well. Edmund Wilson made a list of the terms of the day used to connote drunkenness ("blind, blotto, buried, canned, cockeyed, cracked, embalmed...") and stopped at No. 155 not because he had run out of words but because he had run out of energy. In the U.S. on a visit, the English writer G.K. Chesterton noted that "alcoholism has never threatened disaster as it is threatening America today. It isn't normal that girls of 16 should go to dances and drink raw alcohol."

No tomorrow: In Cincinnati, middle-class citizens complained that that dances were no longer the sedate, decorous affairs they had been prior to passage of the 18th Amend-

ment. "Rarely did an evening pass without someone passing out or a fight starting," recalled one man quoted by Henry Lee in his lively 1963 account, *How Dry We Were*. "The raw liquor of those days was not the kind that induced sleep," Lee's source added. "It made people wild." In Chicago, a Croatian immigrant complained that when working men got their hands on liquor, "they take one drink, then two, then another because they know it will be long before they can have more, and end by spending their whole pay and then getting very sick." Another of Lee's sources observed: "Everybody drank as if there would never be another drink. If you opened a bottle, you killed it."

Particularly interesting, however, was the effect on beer: it was roundly spurned—by imbibers because it was too tame and by rum-runners because it was too unprofitable. As a Rockefeller-financed study observed at the time: "The growth of the

cocktail habit has accompanied Prohibition, and has indeed been stimulated by it because bootleggers could more readily furnish alcohol in concentrated form suitable for making cocktails than they could the bulkier alcoholic beverages." A study conducted at the tail end of Prohibition found that beer consumption had fallen 70 percent since the 18th Amendment went into effect, while consumption of hard liquor had actually risen. Beer, that all-American brew, was suddenly too mellow, too laid back, too non-intoxicating for the feverish atmosphere under Prohibition.

Half a century later, the more moderate consumption habits that pertained prior to Prohibition have begun to reassert themselves. A certain equilibrium has been introduced. As Arnold Trebach, president of the pro-reform Drug Policy Foundation, points out, when it comes to legal substances such as alcohol, caffeine and nicotine, the Amer-

ican trend has been to lowered potency, i.e., white wine and low-alcohol beer, decaffeinated coffee and low-tar cigarettes (if any cigarettes at all). Except for single-malt scotch and other expensive imports meant to be sipped rather than gulped, sales of distilled spirits have languished since the '70s.

On the other hand, when it comes to illegal substances, the pattern is reversed. An innocuous herb like marijuana is out, while crack, the '80s answer to white lightning, is in. Instead of the mellow high of the '60s, the revved-up market of the '80s is promoting an intense rush more suitable to the ultraviolence of the age of Reagan and Bush. If Prohibition II is repealed and other aspects of Reaganism removed with it, there is every reason to believe that instead of using drugs to destroy themselves, people will go back to using drugs that make them feel good. □

Sister cities

Continued from page 6

said, "we should not as a city take a position." The measure failed, 71-to-29 percent.

Other options: Not all modern sister city relationships are overtly political. Many focus on trade and economic development. Visiting Hong Kong, for example, Virginia Gov. Gerald Baliles was surprised to find that chicken feet were considered to be a local delicacy. The same not being the case back home, Baliles soon was able to establish a Virginia/Hong Kong poultry foot link to local chicken farms.

In addition to such traditional trade arrangements, the Center for Innovative Diplomacy is encouraging U.S. cities to join the trend of European cities providing direct development aid to cities in the Third World, including transfers of technology and managerial skills. "It's much more logical than asking someone to contribute two or three years to the Peace Corps," says Irvine's Agran. "People with skills and commitment could lend assistance to a neighboring community in Latin America, let's say, for a period of six weeks." Agran hopes to promote just such a relationship with Irvine's prospective sister city of Hermosillo, Mexico.

Besides getting involved in small-scale international development projects, both Agran and Shuman foresee cities increasingly engaged in global environmental issues. Out of concern for the greenhouse effect, for example, Los Angeles is embarked on an ambitious tree-planting project. Other localities, in recognition of both solid waste disposal and ozone destruction problems, have banned styrofoam products produced with chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs). Agran's city of Irvine is now going them one better by trying to impose strict controls on CFCs in both auto and home air-conditioning systems, as well as banning CFC use in insulation materials and the degreasing of electronic circuitry.

"People are desperately eager to assist in the salvation of the environment," says Agran. "As people recognize this whole environmental issue and its connection with Third World exploitation, the destruction of rain forests and the like, the case for cities getting involved in development issues will begin to grow." □

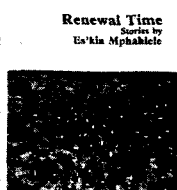
Paul Rauber writes for the *East Bay Express* and other Bay Area publications.

The Center for Innovative Diplomacy publishes a quarterly journal, *The Bulletin of Municipal Foreign Policy*, available for \$15 a year from CID, 17931 "F" Sky Park Circle, Irvine, CA 92714-9654.

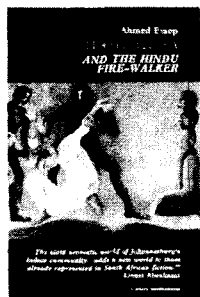
Read the World. Start with Africa. FREE!

Read READERS INTERNATIONAL.

RI publishes the best in world literature. Subscribe to RI's annual series of six sewn, hardcover editions - at paperback prices - and we'll send you any *TWO* African titles below...*absolutely FREE!*



Renewal Time (056)
by Es'kia Mphahlele
'Poignant and eloquently political' *Pub. Wkly*
'A haunting echo of Orwell'
Kirkus Reviews



Hajji Musa and the Hindu Fire-Walker (052)
by Ahmed Essop
'Ironic, candid, and stringent,' says Nadine Gordimer



Fools (020)
by Njabulo Ndebele
'Convinces us of the genuineness of his vision in everything he writes'
N. Y. Times Book Review

Read any *black* South Africans lately?

Brink, Coetzee, Gordimer, the late Alan Paton - each enlightens us on South Africa, but none would claim to speak for their black countrymen.

Yet, in the townships and cities of South Africa there *are* world-class writers in the black and Indian communities. They write in English, enriching our common language. They speak to their own people, and give them a voice. They explore universal human issues that touch us all. They confront the barriers of apartheid: banning, censorship, and exile.

RI selects the best books from the world over: from Africa, Asia, Latin America, Europe,

the Middle East. Subscribers receive a sewn, hardbound edition every other month - six finely produced volumes a year.

The S. African titles above were sold out, in hardback, to subscribers. We've reprinted them in paperback for this **FREE** offer. And we're adding other African & Caribbean books, too.

Subscribe for **only \$9.30** (+ p&p), and you'll get the next RI hardback selection, *plus* the African/Caribbean book of your choice, **FREE**.

Or, subscribe for a year, as you would for a magazine. You'll get six hardcover selections, *plus* **TWO FREE** titles of your choice.

Put the world in your library today.



The Laughing Cry (033)
by Henri Lopes
(Congo) 'Satirical, tender, bawdy, savage and filled with love and hope.'
Washington Post



'Mestre' Tamoda (031)
by Uanhenga Xitu (Angola)
'The stuff of which modern African comedy is made'
N. Y. Times Book Review



Cathedral of the August Heat (043)
by Pierre Clitandre (Haiti)
'Encapsulates what the Third World is all about' *London's Guardian*

READERS INTERNATIONAL

P. O. Box 959 Columbia LA 71418

Please begin my subscription to RI at the special \$9.30 subscriber price, + \$1.65 p&p. I'll get RI's newest title every other month at the same special price. I may cancel at any time.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

Apt. no. _____

State/Prov. _____

ZIP/Postcode _____

☐ \$10.95 (Can\$13.75) enclosed. My FREE book, no. _____

☐ Bill my ☐ VISA or ☐ MasterCard.

Card No. _____

Expiry date _____

Signature _____

SPECIAL SAVINGS and two free books:

☐ \$55 (Can\$65) enclosed for an annual subscription. I get RI's six newest world titles, plus two **FREE** books: _____ (title numbers)

☐ Bill my credit card for \$55 (US currency only).

ITT 25

By Merrill Collett

AMID ALL OF COLOMBIA'S RECENT BLOOD-shed and bombing, one act of violence serves to explain what is really going on in that country's strange civil war. On August 25 gunmen believed to be working for drug traffickers set fire to an exclusive country club outside Medellin, capital of the cocaine trade.

Why would traffickers burn a country club? Police headquarters, newspaper offices, court buildings or the U.S. Embassy would all seem to be more suitable targets.

In fact, a country club perfectly represents what the traffickers want to win with their "total war"—social acceptance for them and their children. The multibillion-dollar drug business has pushed up a new "narco-bourgeoisie," and these former car thieves and street urchins are demanding room at the top. Colombia's exclusive private clubs are the place where the country's stiff-necked elites reaffirm their membership in the oligarchy. So the traffickers burned a club to get their point across—they want in.

Colombia's top drug traffickers have a certain right to claim entrance to the oligarchy. They have constructed an enormously successful enterprise that links coca cultivators in Peru, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia and Ecuador with cocaine consumers in the U.S. and Europe. Latin America's "first successful multinational" is the way Peruvian President Alan Garcia Perez has described the Medellin cartel. It employs some half-million Colombians in producing, processing, packaging, protecting, transporting and marketing cocaine, marijuana and a small but increasing amount of heroin.

Estimates of earnings range from \$4 billion to \$10 billion annually, making those at the top fabulously wealthy. The Medellin cartel around Pablo Escobar, Gonzalo Rodriguez Gacha and the members of the Ochoa clan and the leaders of the rival Rodriguez Orejuela group in the city of Cali are billionaires. In addition there are at least 1,000 Colombian "narcotraficantes" who have from \$15 million to \$200 million, according to Fernando Alvarez, the respected drug expert on the staff of the Bogota newsweekly *Semana*.

Change of heart: There was a time when Colombia's elites seemed ready to choke down their disdain and accept the crude cocaine kings into the inner sanctum of the ruling class. Drug dollars bought them social access. They entertained jet-set glitterati at the best hotels and paid for campaign banquets where they fraternized with big-name politicians.

The traffickers even ran for office themselves. Carlos Lehder, now serving out a drug sentence in the U.S., launched his own neo-fascist political party. Escobar was elected as an alternate congressman from Medellin in 1982. He was later hounded out of office by a determined enemy of drug trafficking, Sen. Rodrigo Lara Bonilla. Lara Bonilla continued his anti-drug crusade until he was shot down in 1984 while serving as justice minister. His hired killers were traced to Escobar, who reportedly paid them \$8,000.

The slaying shocked Colombia and embarrassed the elite into excluding traffickers from high society. All of a sudden no amount of drug dollars could buy them a drink in the best clubs. "I don't need those sons of bitches in the clubs," Lehder once fumed after he was barred from a major social event. The practical expression of this rejection is extradition to the U.S., which ratifies in Colombia the U.S. definition of traffickers



Shortly after drug traffickers declared a "total war" on the Colombian government, the Conservative Party's Medellin offices were attacked.

U.S. demolishes a country, not a cartel

as criminal deviants, not successful businessmen.

Extradition was made the big gun of U.S. anti-drug policy in Colombia under the Reagan administration, which saw the solution to the drug problem in law-and-order

COLOMBIA

terms. According to this logic, prosecution in the U.S. was the only effective weapon against the traffickers, who could buy or bludgeon their way out of any jail in Colombia.

A monster: Yet the cocaine trade had become much bigger than a law-enforcement issue. Cocaine smuggling had grown into a vast transnational business that could not be bankrupted by jailing top traffickers and snuffing out crime "families." The Medellin cartel's decentralized hierarchy was stronger than its individual leaders. Arrest simply created new room at the top, allowing ambitious narcos to move into the jobs of those jailed. In February 1987 Colombian police captured Lehder in what was seen as a great victory for the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration. After Lehder was sent to the U.S. for trial, his place was promptly filled by Rodriguez Gacha.

Colombian popular opinion did not share Washington's enthusiasm for extradition. The U.S.-Colombian extradition agreement, which was signed in 1979, deviated from prevailing international law by allowing deportation from the country of citizenship. It also overrode an existing Colombian law that expressly prohibited such a practice. The traffickers had no trouble finding sympathetic ears for their slogan, "Colombia, Don't Hand Over Your Sons."

President Belisario Betancur, a moderate nationalist who took office in 1982, objected to the treaty as an incursion into Colombian sovereignty, and he let extradition orders remain on his desk unsigned. But the murder of his justice minister, Lara Bonilla, shocked

the president into reconsidering his stand, and he soon signed six deportation orders. The oligarchy fell into line by publicly repudiating the traffickers and coming out in favor of extradition. The traffickers responded by attacking the elites as holier-than-thou hypocrites who had sold out to the gringos. The U.S. then pushed the confrontation to the breaking point by making extradition the axis around which pivoted not only U.S. anti-drug policy in Colombia but U.S.-Colombian relations.

That happened after Jorge Luis Ochoa, a Medellin cocaine magnate, bribed or threatened his way out of a Bogota jail in December 1987 before the Colombian government could deport him to the U.S. The U.S. retaliated by delaying visas to Colombian travelers and by holding up at the border perishable Colombian exports such as shrimp and flowers. Pressured by Washington, Betancur's successor, President Virgilio Barco Vargas, promised to pursue Ochoa and extradite him.

Cornered, the traffickers murdered Attorney General Carlos Mauro Hoyos, a strong advocate of extradition. They then kidnapped Bogota mayoral candidate Andres Pastrana, the son of a former president and thus a symbol of Colombia's traditional political class.

In defense of the kidnapping, the traffickers issued an indignant communique that read like a manifesto for the newly rich drug traffickers. Calling themselves "The Extraditables," they lambasted the elites for betraying patriotic Colombians. The traffickers also declared "total war" on the government. Bloodied and worried about the destabilizing effects of constant attacks on its authority, the Barco government eased up on its extradition efforts.

The matter took a new twist last October, when the U.S. Congress passed an anti-drug law that imposed capital punishment on murderous drug traffickers. Colombia does not have capital punishment, so it cannot

extradite its citizens, traffickers included, on capital charges. Ironically, Congress has made extradition impossible for the major dealers, all of whom have blood on their hands.

Washington's extradition strategy appears to be a complete failure: "The Extraditables" are still in business, huge volumes of illegal drugs continue to flow from Colombia to the U.S., and the rule of law is no stronger in Colombia than before. Instead of destabilizing the drug cartels, extradition helped destabilize Colombia.

No way out: The Bush administration seems to have learned none of these lessons. Now that the traffickers have launched another round of "total war" and once again issued a manifesto that explicitly lambasts "the oligarchy," the U.S. has once again asked Colombia to extradite 12 traffickers, and the U.S. has flown a plane to Bogota to pick up any of those who might be captured. No doubt Washington sees the waiting plane as a symbol of U.S. determination to fight the drug war, but the war has become more symbolic than real.

The waiting U.S. plane won't rescue Colombia from savagery. The traffickers will continue to batter away at the doors of the establishment because they know that bloodshed is the price of admission to the ruling class. In Latin America, economic shifts are usually accompanied by violence.

The introduction of coffee in Colombia at the end of the last century brought on a civil war. Brazil's cacao boom gave rise to the corrupt killers made famous by Jorge Amado in *The Violent Land*. Eventually the captains of coffee and cacao bought and bludgeoned their way into the oligarchy, and the same is almost certain to happen with the new social stratum pushed up by the drug economy. □

Merrill Collett, a frequent contributor to *In These Times*, is the author of *The Cocaine Connection*, which will be published by The Foreign Policy Association this fall.

IN THESE TIMES SEPTEMBER 6-12, 1989 11

THE PERILS

By Diane K. Bartz

EFFORTS BY THE U.S. TO END COCA CULTIVATION in Peru and Bolivia have stalled. Hand eradication has turned out to be a lengthy, dangerous and ineffective process, herbicide use has been delayed because of environmental concerns, and raids on the scattered refining laboratories have had only an ephemeral effect on the trade.

Politically leery of cracking down on America's middle-class cocaine users, Washington has habitually vented its drug frustrations by pressuring producer countries to lessen their participation in the highly lucrative trade.

Unrefined coca use is legal in both Peru and Bolivia, however, making total eradication unfeasible. Legally used coca, amounting to 15,000 tons in Bolivia and 10,000 tons in Peru, is brewed in tea or chewed with an alkaline, such as wood ash. In either case, the leaf acts as a mild stimulant similar to caffeine or nicotine and is frequently used to counteract the effects of the high altitude.

The U.S. State Department estimates that in 1988 some 285,600 acres were planted with coca in Peru, most in the fertile Huallaga Valley, where the hardy plant has grown for thousands of years.

Peru produces 65 percent of the world's coca, while Bolivia produces some 33 percent. Small amounts are also grown in Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador and Brazil.

Although most of the profits from coca sales go to the Colombian traffickers who control the market, eradicating coca in Bolivia, the second-poorest country on the continent with a per capita income of \$570 annually, would deal a sharp blow to the economy, which depends on the illicit crops for \$600 million of its \$4 billion gross national product.

Peru's per capita income is slightly higher at \$1,430 annually, but still the country would be hurt by the loss of up to \$800 million in receipts from the coca trade.

But each year teams of Peruvian police, advised and accompanied by U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) agents, fly to raid coca plots in planes contracted out or owned by the State Department's Bureau of International Narcotics Matters and flown by U.S. pilots. The teams chopped down 12,700 acres of coca in 1988, up from 877 in 1987. The results are unimpressive when one considers that between 123,000 and 185,250 acres of coca are planted in the Upper Huallaga Valley, producing an estimated 85 tons of cocaine per year. The raids are also aimed at wiping out the small laboratories where the first stage of processing coca leaves into cocaine takes place.

More for less: Despite these efforts, the supply of cocaine has continued to increase. The price of cocaine in the U.S. has fallen for four straight years, from \$30,000 to \$50,000 per kilogram in 1985 to \$11,000 to \$34,000 per kilogram last year, according to



Displaced and dispirited: country people at Puna in one of Peru's emergency zones where guerrillas operate.

U.S. drug policy in region eradicates itself

a study released this May by the National Narcotics Intelligence Consumers Committee. The street price ranged between \$50 and \$120 a gram. Meanwhile the DEA reported that purity rose from 50 percent to 70 percent over the past year.

Frustrated by the ineffectiveness of manual eradication of coca, the State Department began to look for a herbicide that could be sprayed from the air on Andean coca fields. It settled on tebuthiuron—a herbicide made by Elanco, a division of Eli Lilly, and known by the trade name Spike. Test spraying began in October 1987. However, when word of the program leaked out in April 1988, environmentalists and human rights groups protested, arguing that long-term testing was needed to determine whether Spike would harm residents or damage the environment of the Upper Huallaga.

Walter Gentner, a former lab chief for the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) in Beltsville, Md., lost his job because of opposition to Spike.

When Gentner, a 34-year veteran of the USDA, told his boss, Tom Army, that he intended to request more tests before certifying the herbicide for use in Peru because of environmental concerns, Army's response was to the point: "Fuck the environment," Gentner quotes him as saying. Gentner resigned after he was demoted from lab chief and was not re-assigned.

"It's too much of a risk to put a compound like Spike in the Upper Huallaga when we really don't know the biogenetics of the

area," Gentner says. "We can't even find anyone who can adequately define the environment, that is, tell its composition on a species-by-species basis."

Without a baseline, Gentner says, it is impossible to measure the environmental impact of a herbicide on an area.

"The tests on Spike were nothing," he says. "The land [chosen for testing] was atypical: flat, river-bottom land. Coca requires good drainage and is generally planted on a slope. There isn't much runoff on a river bottom, where the Huallaga gets about an inch [of rain] a day."

Elanco appeared to scuttle the program in May 1988 when it said it would not sell the herbicide to the State Department for use in coca eradication. Elanco's move reportedly stemmed from fears of lawsuits should the herbicide be found to have negative long-term effects and fears of retaliation against its employees in Latin America.

In March 1989, 70 acres were sprayed with the herbicide in what a State Department spokeswoman told the *Washington Post* was "the final test." This last round of testing is to take about a year, at which time the Peruvian government will decide whether to give

the go-ahead for widespread aerial spraying. Conveniently, this is also about the time Elanco's patent—and thus its monopoly on producing the herbicide—will run out.

Long-term dangers: "They're hoping that after a year a green flag will go up," says Greenpeace's Sandra Marquardt. "The red flag should remain in place permanently."

One concern about Spike is that there have been no tests to determine its long-term effect on the crews of the airplanes that apply the herbicide or those who live in areas to be sprayed. According to the Weed Science Society of America's *Herbicide Handbook*, Spike should not come into "contact with the skin, eyes or clothing." While one analyst described Spike as "not particularly lethal" in the short term, the tendency in the Third World generally is to disregard sometimes even basic safety precautions for fieldworkers, especially if the measures are expensive or time-consuming. More worrisome, no long-term tests have been done to determine whether it causes cancer or genetic damage. Three structurally similar herbicides have been linked to urogenital tumors.

Ironically, the State Department contracted out analyses of the effect of tebuthiuron on cocaine users but conducted no tests to determine the effects of the herbicide on residents of the Upper Huallaga and others who would come into contact with the chemical.

Spike is absorbed into a plant through its roots and kills by destroying the plant's ability to photosynthesize sunlight. It is used in the U.S. to create pastureland, although the Environmental Protection Agency has banned cattle grazing on a treated field for two years after it is applied and required the manufacturer to recommend it not be used on wet or marshy land.

Environmentalists oppose the use of Spike because of its persistence. An application of

Eduardo Rimbado

O F P E R U

the herbicide in dry soil may prevent the growth of broadleaf and woody plants for up to seven years, eliminating the possibility of using the area to grow crops or allowing the jungle to reclaim the area. The high rainfall in the Upper Huallaga Valley, known as "the eyebrow of the jungle" because of its position between the low-lying rainforest and Andean highlands, may leach the long-lasting Spike into the Huallaga River, a tributary of the Amazon.

Added worries: Another danger of aerial applications of Spike in the region is that large patches of the land could be systematically slated for clearing as coca producers move from treated fields to nearby virgin soil, and then on again as their new fields are discovered.

The State Department has defended the herbicide, saying aerial spraying would be less risky because manual eradicators are sometimes fired upon as they work. The department also maintains that coca growers are destroying the Huallaga Valley anyway because they slash and burn the jungle to plant coca and dump acetone and ether, used to refine the plant, into the river.

Sandra Marquardt disagrees. "Adding a poison to a poison is not the answer," she says. "To heap further degradation on top of degradation is not the answer."

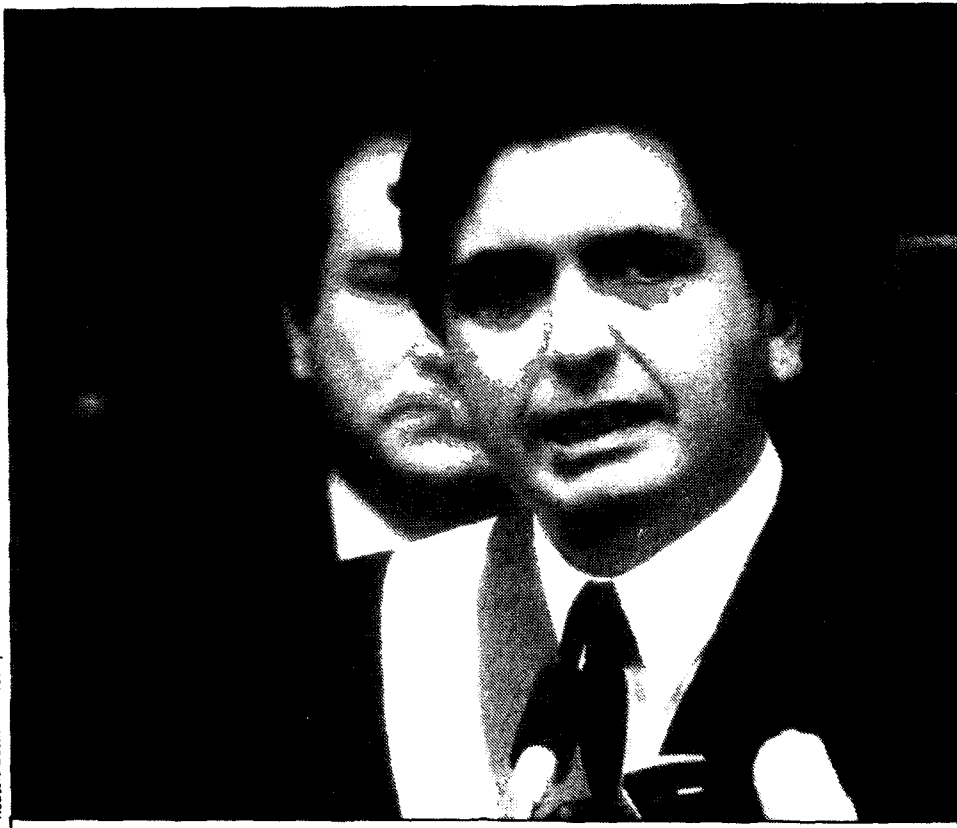
The State Department has also cited the presence of the Maoist guerrilla group Sendero Luminoso, or Shining Path, in the region as a reason for preferring herbicides sprayed from the air to groups sent in with machetes to clear the fields by hand. Shining Path's role in the Upper Huallaga is unclear, especially since the fiercely puritanical group has in the past targeted drug traffickers, along with prostitutes and homosexuals, as moral degenerates and executed them. Analysts say the rebel band has stepped between coca farmers and their Colombian buyers in order to get the farmers higher prices and extorted the Colombian cartel to finance their rebel activities.

In any case, hand eradicators frequently destroyed old, non-producing plants, essentially clearing the land for the coca growers, Gentner says.

The future of the program rests with the Peruvian government. Because the result of this last round of tests will not be available until after the April 1990 presidential elections, the embattled government of President Alan Garcia Perez will be spared the painful decision. It is likely to fall to one of the front runners, author Mario Vargas Llosa or the former Marxist mayor of Lima, Alfonso Barrantes.

Peru and Bolivia appear to be in a no-win situation. While they have at times resented what they see as U.S. interference in a domestic problem, both countries look warily at the political upheavals in Colombia—where judges are killed or forced to flee the country after indicting major traffickers—and hope their lands can avoid that bloody fate. □

Diane K. Bartz is a Washington, D.C., writer on Latin America and environmental issues.



Peru's President Alan Garcia Perez: a waning regime in a failing economy.

A sinking regime, a sick economy and the Shining Path

By Gregory N. Heires

LIMA, PERU

ALAN GARCIA PEREZ, PERU'S SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC president who was elected four years ago on an enormous wave of popular support, now faces widespread disenchantment. Peruvians are hoping that upcoming presidential elections next April will offer escape from the country's growing economic mess and political instability.

Thousands of shantytown dwellers, struggling to cope with an annual inflation rate of an estimated 4,000 percent, rely increasingly on communal kitchens to feed their hungry children.

Areas comprising 60 percent of the population are under a state of emergency imposed by the government in response to the Shining Path insurgency, which is stronger than ever since declaring its armed struggle nine years ago.

Angry public hospital doctors have re-

cently staged daily marches in Lima to protest their deteriorating standard of living. Their average monthly salary of \$80 is half of what it was a year ago.

Each month 15,000 people apply for exit visas. Having given up on the possibility of finding jobs with decent pay, they take one-way flights to Europe or the U.S.

"There isn't a middle class in Peru anymore," a Lima taxi driver said. "There's only the rich and the poor."

Although that comment stretches the truth, it also reflects the growing disillusionment that grips the country's 21 million people in the waning months of the Garcia administration.

Garcia enjoyed tremendous support when he came to power in 1985. But his current role seems to be reduced to caretaker of the country's democratic institutions until his successor takes over. Polls show that only 13 percent of the electorate still back him.

Through his inaugural pledge to limit payment of Peru's foreign debt to 10 percent of the country's export earnings, Garcia hoped to show his commitment to the country's poor majority, and to offer a democratic alternative to Cuba's Fidel Castro, who has called on Latin America to renounce its debt to international creditors.

Between 1985 and 1986, Garcia's govern-

ment pursued a "heterodox" economic program that aimed to stimulate demand-led growth. At first the plan succeeded in cutting inflation, spurring production and raising real wages.

But as Peru's dollar reserves ran down and local business chose to send their profits outside the country rather than invest in the local economy, the government was eventually forced to adopt austerity measures. These were implemented at an enormous political cost.

Garcia's bold policy on international debt led private creditors, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank to cut off Peru's access to loans. Thus the government was no longer able to rely on borrowed dollars to sustain demand while the government held down prices and increased wages.

Soon the recovery fizzled, and the country became engulfed in the most serious economic crisis of its 165-year history. Last year inflation ran at 1,722 percent. Over the last year, purchasing power has been cut in half.

Message for Garcia: The economic crisis caused an erosion of support for Garcia's populist American Popular Revolutionary Alliance (APRA), the oldest existing political party in Peru and one with traditional support among the lower and middle classes. Garcia, who is now on his fourth Cabinet, has come under fire within the party, which came to power for the first time in its 65-year history when he took office.

The government faces perhaps its stiffest opposition from a coalition that includes the country's traditional right-wing parties, former President Fernando Belaunde Terry's Popular Action Party (AP) and Luis Bedoya Reyes' Popular Christian Party (PPC). In recent months the two parties joined with independents from the business sector to form the Democratic Front (FREDEMO), which supports novelist Mario Vargas Llosa for president. After briefly renouncing his candidacy in June amid right-wing infighting, Vargas Llosa is back in the race. Polls show him running ahead of the former Marxist mayor of Lima, Alfonso Barrantes, who is expected to be the candidate of the United Left, a fragile coalition of seven leftist parties.

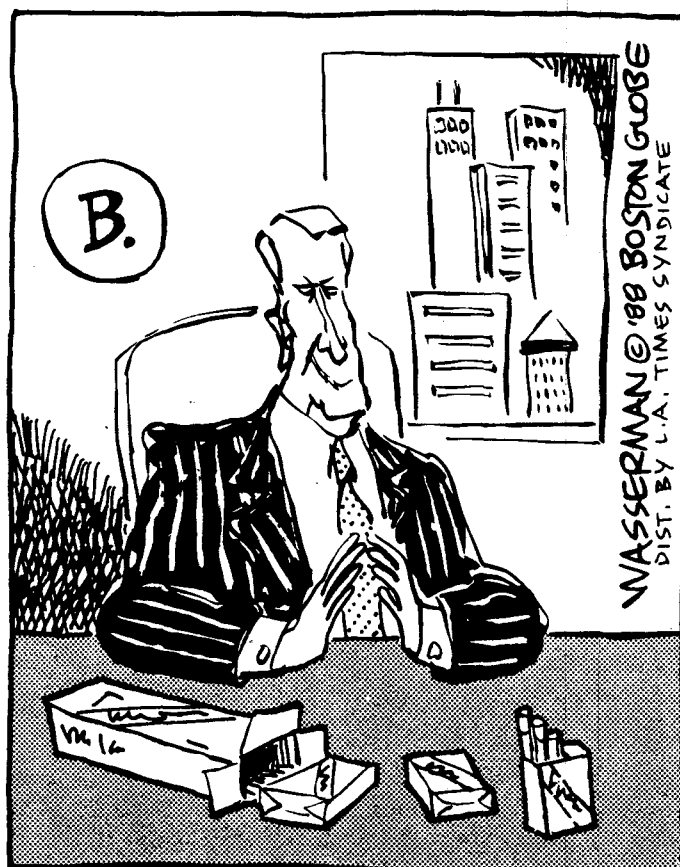
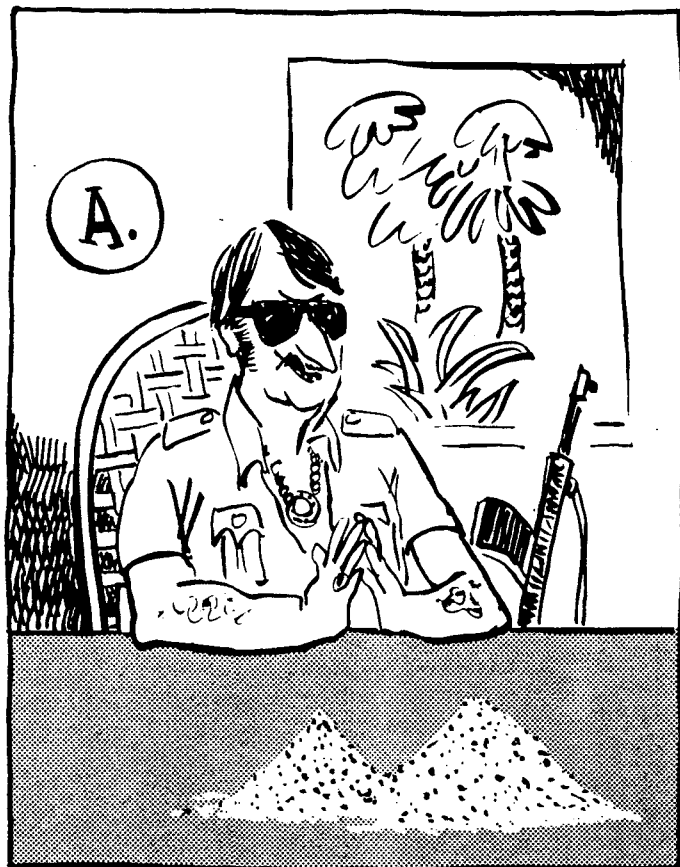
"You can really mark the downfall of the Garcia government with his move to nationalize the banks," said Coletta Youngers, who heads the Peru desk at the Washington Office on Latin America, an organization that monitors human rights and U.S. policy in the region.

"It happened right after he had been holding discussions with the so-called apostles, or leading business families, on reaching an agreement on domestic policies," she said.

Continued on page 22

EDITORIAL

Q: WHICH DRUG DEALER KILLED OVER 300,000 AMERICANS LAST YEAR?



The drug war is a battle against symptoms

War, it has been said, is the health of the state. Certainly Cold War has been the health of the American state since the end of World War II. It has been the rationale for a military-based economy that provided short-term prosperity but contributed to the long-term decline of American industry. And it provided a Red scare that was the excuse for vastly increased federal powers of intervention and disruption of left political activity and social movements. But now the Cold War really seems to be over. Even the most dedicated warriors against the non-existent Communist menace find it difficult to convince most Americans that our security is threatened by the Soviet Union, Cuba or Nicaragua.

This, of course, should be cause for rejoicing, especially by those who believed their own Cold War rhetoric. But every silver lining has a dark cloud. And the cloud hanging over the U.S. ruling class is that without an external threat, the American people might turn their political attention to solving the multitude of social ills and problems bequeathed to our nation by the Cold Warriors.

Enter the war on drugs. It's not the Cold War: it isn't big enough and it doesn't have as clearly defined an enemy. And unlike the Cold War, which one could argue was won by the American corporate elite, it can't be won. In fact, this new war seems a lineal descendant of the Vietnam War, the contra war and the pseudo-war against Manuel Noriega—each of which was lost and each of which was fought against a successively smaller and less-formidable "enemy." But the war against drugs does serve a similar ideological purpose. It serves to divert popular attention from the underlying ills of our society, of which excessive drug consumption is a merely a symptom.

Concession to reality: The administration's new approach—to go after mid-level drug-industry figures like couriers, pilots and money handlers—reflects a more realistic assessment of the difficulties in stopping the production of cocaine, heroin and marijuana in Latin America and Asia. But this approach will also prove futile.

Any free marketeer knows why. In a freely competitive system, when the prospects for profit are great and the amount of capital necessary to enter the business is small, there will be an endless supply of entrepreneurs ready to enter the trade. So, as others are temporarily taken out of service—assuming that they are—replace-

ments will be legion. Indeed, it's surprising that our free-market politicians in Washington don't seem to understand their own philosophy. Since greed is the operative principle on which their economics is based, it should have been obvious to the free marketers that drug-running and pushing would be an unstoppable success, which from a business point of view it clearly has been.

To stop the spread and increased use of drugs—especially cocaine—drug use must be legalized and regulated, much as alcohol is. This argument has been made before, including on these pages, but has been largely dismissed by policymakers and the mainstream media. Every day, however, its logic becomes more compelling.

It would be better, of course, if it were possible to end the use of all destructive substances, including tobacco and alcohol. But our society—and maybe all societies—requires means of escape from the oppressions of everyday life. The total failure of Prohibition proved that simply making a narcotic illegal only gives birth to the kind of illegal and murderous gangs of traffickers that are once again growing in our midst. In the end, it was clear that the cure was worse than the original disease. Alcohol was again made legal, with restrictions placed on its sale and use.

Something like that is going to have to happen in order to remove the motivation for thousands of people in all walks of life, especially the poor, to take the terrible risks involved in entering the drug trade. Arresting them won't do it. The best that can be done short term is to take the profit out of street sales and to put the money going into interdiction into treatment centers and education.

The social context: Of course, in the long run the craving for drugs must be addressed as the social problem it is. Drug use, including alcoholism, is in large part a reflection of hopeless, meaningless lives. Desperate poverty, with little or no hope for leading a productive and comfortable life, is the major cause of our current drug crisis. But a society devoid of social purpose and obsessed with material gain and personal "success" creates a widespread demand for narcotics—from Valium and alcohol to cocaine—among all sectors of our society.

The drug crisis, in short, is not a thing in itself. Trying to stop the use of drugs through the attempted enforcement of narcotics laws is like trying to kill grass by mowing it. Ultimately the drug crisis is the product of the anti-social priorities that have governed our public policies since the end of World War II, and especially in the past decade. The crisis is of a piece with the Cold War, our military-oriented economy and our official deification of corporate profit. When we begin changing these priorities and begin to put the needs of all our people first, drug use will abate on its own.

IN THESE TIMES

"...with liberty and justice for all"

Editor: James Weinstein

Managing Editor: Sheryl Larson

Senior Editors: Patricia Aufderheide, John B. Judis, David Moberg, Salim Muwakkil

Assistant Managing Editors: Miles Harvey, Peter Karman

Culture Editor: Jeff Reid

European Editor: Diana Johnstone

New York Editor: Daniel Lazare

In Short Editor: Joel Bleifuss

Copy Editor: Mary Nick-Bisgaard

Editorial Promotions: Maggie Garb

Researcher: Joan McGrath

Interns: Dan Booth, Katharine Greider, Jim McNeill, Ray Walsh

Art Director: Miles DeCoster

Associate Art Director: Peter Hannan

Assistant Art Director: Lisa Weinstein

Typesetter: Jim Rinnert

Publisher: James Weinstein

Associate Publisher: Bill Finley

Co-Business Managers:

Louis Hirsch, Finance

Kevin O'Donnell, Data Processing Accounting

Advertising Director: Bruce Embrey

Office Manager: Theresa Nutall

Circulation Director: Chris D'Arpa

Assistant Director: Greg Kilbane

Concert Typographers: Sheryl Hybert

In These Times believes that to guarantee our life, liberty and pursuit of happiness, Americans must take greater control over our nation's basic economic and foreign policy decisions. We believe in a socialism that fulfills rather than subverts the promise of American democracy, where social needs and rationality, not corporate profit and greed, are the operative principles. Our pages are open to a wide range of views, socialist and non-socialist, liberal and conservative. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the authors and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

(ISSN 0160-5992)

Published 41 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, first week of March, last week of November, last week of December; bi-weekly in June through the first week in September by the Institute for Public Affairs, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647, (312) 772-0100.

Member: Alternative Press Syndicate

The entire contents of *In These Times* are copyright © 1989 by Institute for Public Affairs, and may not be reproduced in any manner, either in whole or in part, without permission of the publisher. Copies of *In These Times* contract with the National Writers Union are available upon request. Complete issues of *In These Times* are available from University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, MI. Selected articles are available on 4-track cassette from Freedom Ideas International, 640 Bayside, Detroit, MI 48217. All rights reserved. *In These Times* is indexed in the Alternative Press Index. Publisher does not assume liability for unsolicited manuscripts or material. Manuscripts or material unaccompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelope will not be returned. All correspondence should be sent to: *In These Times*, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647. Subscriptions are \$34.95 a year (\$59 for institutions; \$47.95 outside the U.S. and its possessions). Advertising rates sent on request. Back issues \$3; specify volume and number. All letters received by *In These Times* become property of the newspaper. We reserve the right to print letters in condensed form. Second-class postage paid at Chicago, IL and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to *In These Times*, 1912 Debs Ave., Mt. Morris, IL 61054. This issue (Vol. 13, No. 33) published Sept. 6, 1989, for newsstand sales Sept. 6-12, 1989.

LETTERS

A time for truth

I AM A RETIRED AIR FORCE PUBLIC INFORMATION Officer. My job in the Air Force was to keep the Russian "enemy" bigger than life. I did this with a series of slide presentations in schools, churches and civic clubs. Any place the mindless met, I was there with my little dog-and-pony show, showing the public how to beat plowshares into swords. It really was an easy chore. I had lots of help from the Russians themselves, with their constant sword-rattling and puffery. They had inadvertently become the co-conspirators of our own Defense Department.

I don't want you to think that I was cynical enough to conceive of this diabolical plan myself. I was just one of the thousands of public information robots in the Air Force, Army, Navy and Marines that are sent across the nation to parrot the Defense Department's party line. Sardonically, we called ourselves the Bogyman Patrol.

Three wars plus a cold war later, I finally came to the realization that the concept of butter and guns was a myth; a defense-spending frenzy can only be at the expense of social programs. For example, the price tag of an unneeded B-2 stealth bomber program is the same as the cost of taking our homeless off the streets, the cost of SDI could provide adequate health care for every one of our citizens and the proposed spending on the MX missile train could educate all our children for generations.

Can it happen? I wonder! We have tolerated the imposed fear and paranoia of our military spenders too long. Given enough time, the tiny self-serving cabal of our military-industrial-political leaders will find us a viable enemy again. As I speak, slide presentations are being revised and eager new public information officers are being trained.

However, the inertia of the military-industrial complex has been severely crippled by Gorbachov's admission that Russia is a limping bear. Now is the perfect time to organize a redirection of this nation's energy and resources. Now is the time to take care of the things we have neglected for so long.

Please don't think that I am pandering to a cause. I am 63 years old; my days are numbered. For me, it is too late to pander. I now have time only for truth and honesty.

Dennis L. O'Brien
Fisher, Ill.

No sweat

SOMETHING REALLY IRRITATES ME ABOUT YOUR Editorial on the Supreme Court's abortion decision (ITT, July 19). I think it's the tone that sounds like this: the current public debate over the right of women to control their reproductive lives is eclipsing more important issues, such as health care, education, housing and wages. I'm also annoyed by your condescending assumption that the choice of safe, legal abortion is a "painful and traumatic decision."

Let's consider the tone: of course you support the right of women to choose abortion; of course the choice may offend the moral sensibilities of others, but they don't have the right to impose their values on all of us. Good so far. Somewhere you're omitting an important point: the need for women to control their reproductive lives is, for

most, the very foundation for adequate health care, education, housing and wages.

This idea has been grasped effectively by the anti-choice groups. If you read their magazines and newspapers and really listen to them, the issue of abortion is but one on an agenda that includes banning artificial birth control, containing female sexuality and getting women out of the work force. If this agenda continues to dominate public discourse, the health, education, housing and wages of millions of women and millions of families will be affected in a way that will reverse 20 years of progress women have made in these areas.

Your own choice of words, that abortion is a "painful and traumatic decision," should make all of us realize that some of us still miss the point. I could merely dismiss your wording as the insensitivity of yet another group of males on the left who simply don't get it. But maybe your editorial was written by women. In any case, the option of safe, legal abortion is more often a relief to a woman. You have bought into the anti-choice dogma that every decision to terminate a pregnancy is an uncertain, dreaded one. It isn't. The majority of women seeking abortion know exactly what they need and want for their lives; you don't have to excuse their decision by assuming it's "painful and traumatic."

And why say that women choosing abortion "have decided not to give birth to an unwanted child"? Women choosing abortion have decided not to continue an unplanned pregnancy. How many years of public debate on this issue will it take before the liberal/left press understands that language is thought?

Sharon Lieberman
Evanston, Ill.

Deadly medicine

JUST AS PHOTOS OF ABORTED FETUSES IN BELL Jars distort the abortion debate, so too does network video footage of cops crashing down doors of crack houses and young men bleeding in the streets from gunshot wounds mystify the essential issues involved in the nation's drug war. Mike Tidwell's and Salim Muwakkil's articles (ITT, July 5) provide a much-needed corrective to the sensationalism and hysteria that permeate the debate on drug policy. My past nine months spent as a federal prison inmate (for an anti-nuclear-weapons protest) have greatly altered my impressions about who the real criminals are in the drug war.

Drug use per se is not the problem—drug abuse is. This suggests that the primary public-policy focus should be on treatment, not

interdiction. Violence, not drugs, is the most pervasive and lethal addiction threatening our society today. We tend, however, to see violence strictly in terms of Uzi-toting street thugs roaming the streets of our inner cities. High infant mortality, illiteracy, unemployment, homelessness and poverty rates—the result of massive cuts in social spending engineered during eight years of Reaganism—are dismissed by the dominant culture as either unfortunate accidents or minor misadjustments in an otherwise robust, growth-oriented economy.

The truth is that the government's systematic campaign of violence against the drug culture—more prisons, more police, more firepower, etc.—is essentially the domestic application of the low-intensity-conflict doctrine employed against Third World people who threaten North American political and economic hegemony. But one need look no further than the extensive drug trafficking inside the prison walls to know that interdiction can never work, even given the most totalitarian systems of control and surveillance.

Sooner or later we must wake up to the fact that the most insidious cost of the drug war is a wholesale erosion of democratic principles and legal rights. For most law-abiding, politically inactive citizens, these would seem to be distant concerns. Yet commando-style strike forces, utilization of "Pentagon assets" and quasi-military boot camps for drug offenders are but the most visible signs that a grass-roots military mobilization is well underway—and its primary targets are the poor and people of color.

Violence can never cure or eradicate violence. Instead, as in Vietnam, we find our society trapped in an escalating spiral of destruction, evidenced by the deterioration of legal protections for criminal defendants and the psychological brutality being inflicted upon an entire generation of young, black and Hispanic men who are being sentenced to 20- and 30-year prison terms. The damage done to the families of prisoners is inconceivable. At the same time, the criminal justice system seems unwilling or unable to confront the vast array of white-collar businesses such as banks that launder drug money or otherwise profit from illicit capital.

Our society is slowly assuming the trappings of a police state. This slide is neither inexorable nor necessary, but to stop it the progressive community must engage in the unpopular work of demythologizing the drug demon. Without the antidote of compassion and reason, the government's violent cure for the drug epidemic will surely prove to be deadly medicine for the body politic.

Duane Bean, #04973-045
Metropolitan Correctional Center
Chicago

Pope sin

I FIND IT APPALLING THAT READER MARK LENERS can even attempt to defend the Catholic Church's position on birth control and ecology by writing that the church supports "natural family planning" as a supposed route to population stability (Letters, June 21).

Is Leners joking? As it happens, my youngest sister was accidentally conceived through "natural family planning." So were millions of Catholic kids across this country. I happen to love my sister, and today I'm extremely glad that the birth control advice that the priests gave to my parents was wrong. But if conservative Catholics now say this same advice should be offered to the whole world as a population strategy, they're crazy. Or they're lying to themselves. Or both.

Distasteful as it may be, abortion is still one means for slowing continued population growth, which today threatens both developed countries and the Third World. That's one reason why environmentalists, as well as feminists, must support it.

"Natural" family planning, though, is generally an introduction to motherhood. When the pope attempts to restrict every real birth control method while encouraging this stupid, failed panacea, he's simply asking for humanity to breed itself into ecological Armageddon and starvation. And that's a sin.

If the Roman Catholic Church can't come up with a better birth control position than this, it will continue to strike non-Catholics as a reactionary, bloodthirsty bureaucracy that is sacrificing the Earth (not to mention the health of millions of Catholic women!) on an altar of sexual hysteria and superstition. Also, millions of ethically sensitive Catholics will continue to face guilt over tolerating stupid papal teachings that they know are promoting ecological collapse.

As the world's population rises rapidly from the 5 billion mark toward 6 billion, the greenhouse warming problem is just a hint of what lies ahead. Wait until we lose a million plant and animal species to rain forest destruction over the next 40 years—in part because of Third World poverty and First World greed, but also because of the church's stubborn refusal to offer its Latin flock effective methods of birth control. Wait, too, for African starvation rates to rise again as countries like Kenya—where the pope has encouraged large families—struggle to raise living standards, only to wreck their fragile soils as their populations double every 18-24 years.

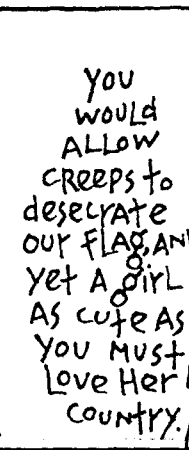
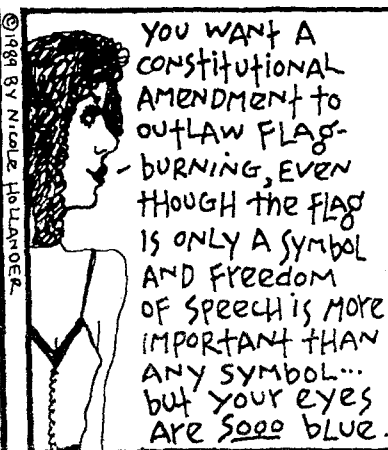
Just how many ecological disasters (and how many subsequent human deaths) do the church's abortion fighters want on their hands?

Andy Feeney
Washington, D.C.

SYLVIA



At least ask him if he's seen 'the Accidental Tourist.'



By James Petras

IN THIS EPOCH OF DECAYING EMPIRE there is a profound rupture in the U.S. between corporate profits and national growth—the former is no longer synonymous with the latter. Increasingly the profits of our private sector are dependent on plundering the public treasury, pillaging the natural environment and reducing social services—not on applying new technology and enlarging markets through the expansion of goods and services.

Pillage of the public treasury is manifested by the banks—evidenced by the Bush administration's use of hundreds of billions of dollars to refloat the savings and loans, which are then reprivatized. Washington also uses hundreds of billions of dollars in public funds to finance federal deficits resulting from subsidies to military-industrial contractors. Pension funds are invested to buoy an increasingly volatile and overextended stock market. And on a more commonplace, routinized level, hundreds of millions of dollars in public funds have been privately appropriated—without fulfilling their publicly mandated purpose—in important areas like housing and health care.

The private pillage of the public domain extends to natural resources—land, sea beds and timber—all stripped or despoiled with little regard for long-term consequences. The main source of private profit is no longer long-term, large-scale investment in the creation and manufacture of innovative

"People's" capitalism is here and horrible

products for producers and consumers, but is based on seizing and appropriating existing public resources.

Selling out: Private pillage of the state reflects the declining capacity of U.S. capital to compete in the world market. Corporate America's flight from the competitive-goods-producing market is both cause and consequence of the headlong plunge into the paper market—the buying and selling of fictitious capital. The gap between the pursuit of the paper economy and the consumption of necessary goods and services is made up through massive imports, trade deficits and external debt financing. Both the universal pursuit of "rentier" profits from stock, bond and land holdings and the spiraling foreign debt are expressions of the erosion of the foundations of national economic power.

Unable to compete with their strongest capitalist competitors, American corporations must squeeze their subordinate clients even harder. Increasing dependence on rentier income involves increased pressure to extract wealth from the productive debtor countries. Hence the U.S.—alone among the industrialized nations—has rejected significant debt forgiveness. The U.S. emphasis on Third World debt payments,

rather than the stimulation of development, reflects its uncompetitive position and incapacity to benefit from increased development in the Third World. Washington and Wall Street resist a renewal of growth and hold onto the legacy of past power—the debt structure created in the '70s.

A similar picture emerges in U.S. relations with Eastern Europe. Washington exports free-market rhetoric but is unable to provide the investment capital or financing that would allow "markets" and local production to grow. The Bush formula for Eastern Europe of continued debt payments, deregulation of prices and capital flows (free markets), as well as unrestrained competition, will result in the "Latinamericanization" of the region. Under this arrangement, Eastern Europe will lose the positive social benefits of socialism without achieving the economic growth of Western capitalism. "Free markets" will produce stagnant dependencies. Washington provides the political and ideological pressure to open Eastern European economies, but it will be the Western Europeans (principally the West Germans) and Japanese who will supply the capital and loans to capture markets and gain spheres of influence.

The U.S. economy is increasingly dominated by intermediary importers of overseas goods and by unregulated or underground producers. Most consumer goods in the U.S. market come from overseas or the underground economy. The rules of capital today are to empty the legal regulatory framework of its contents. Pensions, longevity payments and tenure are increas-

rising empires; at the top, the U.S. economic elite is rapidly transforming itself into an intermediary importer of overseas goods. When industrialists converted themselves into such intermediaries, they avoided the necessary retooling, long-term investments and quality upgrading necessary to sustain market shares. The ideological shift in the U.S. during the '80s from protectionist production to laissez-faire free-market doctrines reflects the structural conversion of U.S. capital. This conversion also explains why the manufacturing sector—the ostensible beneficiary of protectionism—has not mobilized behind its banners. To be a manufacturer today is in a deep sense to be an importer of machine tools, parts and processed products from overseas subcontractors for "finishing." Only the bureaucratized trade unions and a handful of nationalist ideologues and journalists tied to a bypassed industrial past persist in trying to "save" enterprises—enterprises that do not want to be saved, at least not as part of the previous system of the division of labor.

Deregulation, top and bottom: The rise of the paper economy and the ascendancy of financial-speculative capital has been cause and consequence of the deregulation of the economy. The rules of capital—the "industrial regime"—have been obliterated: insider trading has become routine, the costs for the reproduction of labor have been shifted to the working class, the sources of unreported income have multiplied. The rules of the "underground economy" have become predominant at the top—ceasing to be a marginal, complementary aspect of the mainstream economy.

Right-wing Republicanism has gained ascendancy precisely by articulating and legalizing what was already in fact the major *modus operandi* of the U.S. economy. Deregulation fit in well with the existing pattern of the economy and therefore confirmed what large and petty entrepreneurs were already doing.

The deregulated economy, the free-market model and the routinized pillage of the economy have been the basis for the transformation of stable neighborhoods of the working poor into ghettos. Displaced from links with productive labor, these communities have become the drug markets of America. The growth of unreported income at the top has been matched on the bottom. The transformation of industry into "financial services" at the top has been accompanied by the expansion of cocaine and crack sales at the bottom. The freewheeling capitalist gaining wealth on speculative profits, acting above, outside or beyond the law, has a counterpart in the drug entrepreneur flouting the law and accumulating rapid wealth. The non-production of goods—the avoidance of commitment to long-term production at the top was the role model for the bottom. "Buying and selling" drugs with a quick turnover has become the path of rational public choice for economic success.

Private wealth in public decay—the Mercedes of the financial advisers and the pink Cadillac of the drug pushers, amid closed factories and rat-infested tenements—describes the convergence of the top and bottom, the birth of true "people's capitalism."

James Petras teaches sociology at the State University of New York, Binghamton.

13

YEARS OF PROGRESSIVE AMERICAN JOURNALISM

IN THESE TIMES

Make 13 our lucky number and join us in our anniversary celebration. You've been an essential part of our continued success – and whether it's words of appreciation or those of promotion, your participation helps sustain a reputation of quality and excellence. Please show your support by completing the coupon below. You can enclose your typed message on a separate sheet of paper, which we will typeset, or you can send a camera-ready mechanical. Our deadline is **October 16, 1989**, but we will gladly reserve space before then. If we can assist you in any way please don't hesitate to call our advertising office at (312) 772-0100.

13th Anniversary Rate Card and Order Form

		Width x height	
<input type="checkbox"/> Full page	\$2400	10 x 14	NAME _____
<input type="checkbox"/> Half page	1300	10 x 7	
<input type="checkbox"/> Junior page	1450	7 1/2 x 10	ADDRESS _____
<input type="checkbox"/> Third page	900	10 x 4 3/4	
<input type="checkbox"/> Quarter page	750	5 x 7	CITY/STATE/ZIP _____
<input type="checkbox"/> Eighth page	390	5 x 3 1/2	
<input type="checkbox"/> Sixteenth page	225	2 7/16 x 3 1/2	PHONE _____
<input type="checkbox"/> Thirty-second page	115	2 7/16 x 2	
<input type="checkbox"/> Organizational greeting	90		
<input type="checkbox"/> Individual greeting	30		

**Deadline for ads is
October 16, 1989**

IN THESE TIMES, 2040 North Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647 (312) 772-0100

Declining U.S. capitalism is forsaking private production for public plunder.

ingly things of the past. Today, work tends to be temporary and production and technology subject to the paper economy. Trade unions are disappearing from the workplace or are dissolved into managerial structures.

Serving new masters: U.S. technocrats are becoming the servants of Japanese and German capitalists. American innovators have become commodities in the international marketplace. Inventive individuals are alienated from economic power at home and subordinated to overseas investors. To be a successful innovator today is to attach oneself to the giant Japanese multinationals. The alienation of technology and its appropriation by the ascending empires is one more symptom of the decay of the American empire. The dissociation of science from industry and the displacement of both from their dominant position in the U.S. economy accelerates the deterioration of the U.S. position in the world marketplace.

At the middle levels of power, U.S. scientists are becoming "idea persons" for new

The Downside of Supply Side

The Reagan years are now history, and the bold claims about a new economic direction for America can be compared to the record. The chief claim was that getting the federal government off the backs of business would lead to a new, more solidly based prosperity.

Prosperity in the bad old days was said to come from the "artificial" stimulation of big government spending, inspired by Keynesian "demand side" economic policies. Such artificially created prosperity was dangerous, it was said, because it relied on state expansion rather than productive investment by private businesses.

The Reagan administration introduced "supply side" policies, intended to promote private initiative by cutting back or eliminating interventionist programs. A combination of tax cuts; loosening of environmental, job safety and anti-monopoly regulations; and cutbacks in social welfare programs were supposed to unleash a vast wave of private saving and investment. This would increase the economy's productive capacity and bring rapid yet sustainable economic growth.

The American economy has indeed expanded without interruption for an unusually long period. Contrary to the oft-repeated media claims, it is not the longest expansion in this century. At this time it ranks as the third-longest. The longest was 1961-69 (eight years, 10 months), and the next was 1938-44 (six years, eight months), compared to the six years, six months of expansion since the beginning of 1983. The alternative claim, that this is the longest *peacetime* expansion, is a hollow one, given that the '80s witnessed an enormous military buildup, with military spending growing at 7 percent per year in real terms during 1981-87.

Nevertheless, the '80s expansion has been unusually long, with important political consequences, including the Bush election victory. But was this expansion different from earlier ones, as its promoters had promised? Is this a supply side expansion, fueled by a creative burst of saving and investment?

What has driven the expansion? The broadest measure of economic expansion is the growth of the gross national product (GNP), which measures the dollar value of goods and services produced and purchased during a year. GNP has three major components: consumer spending by households, investment spending by businesses, and government purchases (which includes salaries of federal, state and local government employees as well as purchases from private businesses). The fourth component of GNP, net exports, is relatively small.

Almost all economic data vary significantly over the course of the boom-and-bust cycle. To avoid misleading conclusions about performance over time, one should compare years from the same part of the business cycle. Since most economists expect the current expansion to end in 1989 or 1990, the '80s expansion can be judged by comparing 1988 data with earlier business-cycle peak years. The last four peak years were 1979, 1973, 1969 and 1959.

The accompanying table provides inflation-corrected data to compare the '80s expansion with past expansions. First, it is evident that the 2.5 percent GNP growth rate in the '80s was slower than the rates for the '60s and '70s. Even more revealing is the

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

By David M. Kotz

	1959	1969	1973	1979	1988
GNP growth rate, from previous peak year	2.5%	4.1%	3.2%	2.6%	2.5%
Government purchases as share of GNP	24.4%	24.4%	20.6%	19.1%	19.6%
Gross fixed investment as share of GNP	15.6%	15.9%	17.5%	17.6%	16.9%
Net fixed investment as share of GNP	6.3%	6.8%	7.9%	6.9%	5.0%
Consumer expenditure as share of GNP	60.1%	60.1%	61.6%	62.8%	64.9%
Personal saving as share of disposable income	6.3%	6.4%	9.4%	6.8%	4.1%

change in the components of GNP. From 1969 to 1979 government actually shrank relative to GNP as its share declined from 24.4 percent to 19.1 percent. While government grew absolutely during that decade, the private sector grew faster. The Reagan military buildup reversed this trend. From 1979 to 1988, the government share of GNP rose somewhat, to 19.6 percent.

It's no surprise that supply side policies failed. Tax cuts and social welfare cuts have had a negligible effect on investment. Deregulation may save a few dollars but hasn't spurred growth.

When we search the data for the investment boom that was supposed to happen in the '80s, we do not find it. From 1959 to 1979, gross fixed investment had steadily increased its share of GNP, from 15.6 percent to 17.6 percent. But in the '80s the investment share declined to 16.9 percent. In fact, by other measures investment performed even worse in the '80s. *Net fixed investment*, which measures the increase in the capital stock after deduction of depreciation, fell in the '80s to a level substantially below that of the previous three decades.

The big gainer was not investment but consumer spending. It increased by two full percentage points over the 1979 level. Why did this happen? The 1981 Kemp-Roth tax bill lowered personal tax rates, particularly for wealthy households. This pumped purchasing power into the household sector. The combination of falling taxes and growing military spending brought us enormous budget deficits, which fueled the consumer spending boom.

The second reason consumer spending rose was that households spent more of their disposable (after-tax) income on consumer goods and the savings rate fell—to 4.1 percent of disposable income in 1988, less than half its 1973 level. The many regressive economic policy measures of the Reagan years, which were supposed to increase saving, produced the opposite effect: a consumer spending binge by high-income households.

Thus, the '80s expansion has been even more of a demand side expansion than previous postwar expansions. It was led primarily by rising consumer spending, fueled by government deficits and reduced household saving, and secondarily led by rising military

spending. Contrary to expectations, investment and saving sagged by comparison to past expansions.

Why has the expansion lasted so long? Like the other two unusually long expansions of this century, this one was prolonged by government pump priming. Expansions usually last three to four years, but three years into the '80s expansion the federal budget deficit mushroomed to an unprecedented 5 percent of GNP. The continuing huge deficit has kept the expansion rolling along.

Another factor prolonging the expansion has been the absence of serious inflationary pressure. Normally, after three or four years of expansion inflation begins to accelerate, causing the Federal Reserve to tighten credit, which is one factor that sets off a recession.

Why did inflation, the scourge of the '70s, fail to materialize? An economic expansion normally brings inflation eventually, because, as the unemployment rate drops, wages begin to rise faster and employers respond by raising prices. Furthermore, as all available productive capacity is brought into use, product shortages lead to price boosts.

But this expansion has been different. It began from a severe recession, with unemployment at 10.7 percent, the highest since the Great Depression, and an industrial capacity-use rate of only 69 percent. It took five years of expansion, until late

1987, before the unemployment rate fell below 6 percent.

But even the recent unemployment rates of 5 percent to 5.5 percent have not been inflationary, because wages have not begun to rise rapidly. The Reagan years' government and corporate assault on organized labor so weakened unions that they are still rarely able to gain significant wage boosts. Last year hourly wages rose by only 3.1 percent.

But if the budget deficit continues to decrease, as it has over the past year, we can expect the expansion to come to an end soon.

Supply side promise unfulfilled: It is no surprise that the supply side policies did not perform as advertised. The best studies show that tax cuts have, at most, a small effect on investment. No one has been able to show any favorable effect on economic growth from social welfare program cuts. Deregulation may save a few dollars for some industries—at the cost of more pollution and job deaths—and with no guarantee that the savings will be productively invested.

The U.S. economy has indeed devoted a smaller share of GNP to investment than most other industrialized capitalist countries. But big government is not the explanation. European social democracies such as Sweden, Denmark and West Germany have much bigger welfare states, yet their economies have grown faster and invested more than the U.S. in the postwar period. The fastest grower and biggest investor has been Japan, which, far from following free-market policies, has a heavily state-guided capitalist economy.

Of course, socialists should not blindly follow the capitalist goal of maximum GNP growth, given the enormous problems created by such growth. But it is worth noting that the evidence strongly suggests that contemporary capitalist economies work best, in their own terms, when strongly guided by an interventionist state. By the standards of investment and GNP growth, the U.S. and Britain, with their laissez-faire policies, have performed at the bottom of the heap over the long run.

David M. Kotz is a professor of economics at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

Source: Economic Report of the President, 1989

EXPOSING THE ROOTS OF ECONOMIC INSTABILITY

Dollars & Sense magazine digs beneath the surface of conventional wisdom to expose the sources of economic injustice and financial instability in the United States and the world. Each month, you'll find concise and readable political analysis of the issues that matter: The decline of U.S. manufacturing; Bank bailouts; Third World economies in crisis; The housing shortage; Union organizing strategies; Women's income; The real unemployment rate.

dollars & Sense

ECONOMIC NEWS AND ANALYSIS FOR UNCERTAIN TIMES

Start my subscription (10 issues) to Dollars & Sense for only \$14.95 — a \$5 savings off the newsstand rate.

☐ My payment is enclosed ☐ Please bill me.

DSST

Name _____

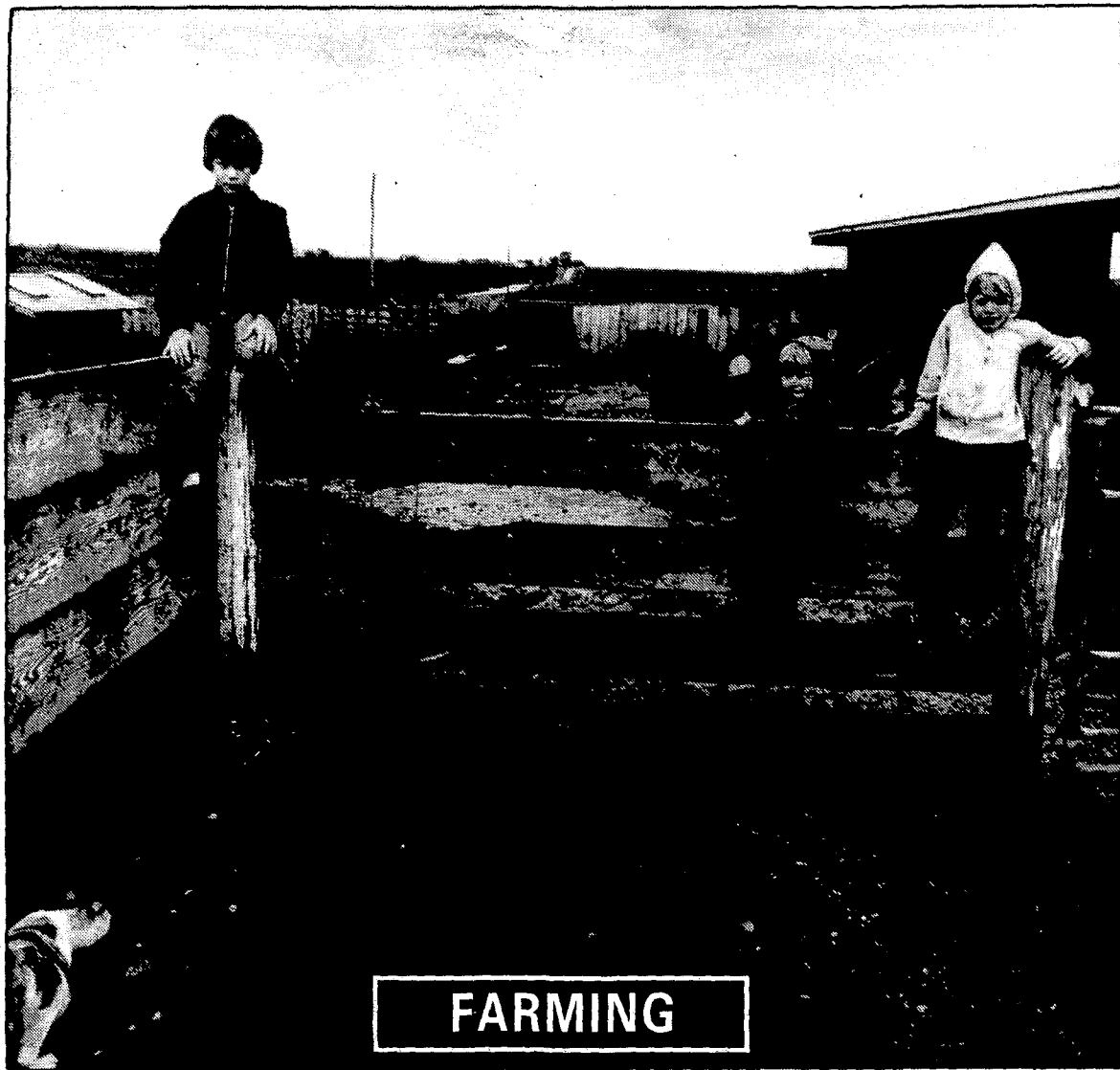
Address _____

City, state, & zip _____

RETURN TO DOLLARS & SENSE, 1 SUMMER STREET, SOMERVILLE, MASSACHUSETTS 02143

IN THESE TIMES SEPTEMBER 6-12, 1989 17

Growing interest in the Earth



FARMING

Family Farming:
A New Economic Vision
By Marty Strange
University of Nebraska Press
311 pp., \$7.50

By Charles Isenhardt

FARMWORKERS AND WILDLIFE HAVE suffered pesticide poisoning for years. Fertile soil has been washing and blowing off agricultural land for decades. At various times and for their own reasons, farm and environmental groups have howled about such things, but rarely in unison.

Now, however, the ecological and health hazards of modern farm prac-

tices are getting sustained attention because another, broader constituency is getting into the act: consumers. Increasingly, average citizens worried about contaminated food and pesticide-polluted water are asking: how much longer can we put our tax and supermarket dollars into an agribusiness system that might be killing us?

The recent tariff squabble between the U.S. and the European Economic Community was a case in point. Ostensibly a dispute over free trade, it's actually rooted in Europeans' distastes for hormone-treated meats and the associated health dangers. And consumers everywhere are challenging farm-

ers and environmentalists to attend to problems they've been dancing around separately for too long.

A strange mix: Into this mix comes Marty Strange, matchmaker. For a work not apparently dedicated to environmental concerns (no chapter title has a conservationist bent), Strange's book on family farming sets a new standard of ecological conscience for books about American agriculture.

Instead of writing an obligatory section on farming's environmental aspects, Strange weaves his concern into the fabric of every topic he discusses—from land tenure to commodity prices to farm technology.

Strange—an ag policy analyst at the Center for Rural Affairs in Walthill, Neb.—is a cordial critic of both farmers and environmental advocates. After eight years of a Reagan administration hostile to their concerns, those environmentalists may have learned to get along better with each other, but Strange believes they could be more simpatico with other potential allies.

"Consumers, farmers, environmentalists—all three of those interest groups behave narrowly when they want to, which is most of the time," Strange told *In These Times*. "I work among those camps as much as anybody in the country. I see the selfishness at every corner, and environmentalists can be the worst."

For example? "They think social structure doesn't matter, in agriculture or any other area," he claims.

How long can we put our money into a potentially deadly agribusiness system?

"They say they're not worried about the deterioration of family farming, that they're worried about groundwater pollution, as if they weren't connected. Yet their guiding light is the principle that all things are connected."

Strange's book, *Family Farming: A New Economic Vision*, clearly and convincingly explains the connections among issues of farm size, land use and ownership, federal tax and commodity policies, as well as the spread of inappropriate technology. He shows how almost all of the issues involve farmers in degrading the environment and irretrievably consuming the Earth's resources.

Harmonic divergence: He identifies and links the various trends in agriculture. Chief among them is a move away from the myth of "family farming" toward the contrary values of "industrial agribusiness." In ideal ecological terms, Strange writes, "family farming strives for production processes in harmony with nature" and is "resource-conserving," compared with the "standardized" and "resource-consumptive" industrial style. "Most people who work the land have little or no hope of owning it. Those who own the land have no desire or need to farm for a living. Thus, many who actually farm have little long-term interest in conserving the land for future generations."

Strange links the changing social structure of agriculture to the threat it poses to nature and, in the long run, the sustainability of national food production. In discussing the debate that "bigger" farms are sup-

posedly "better" ones, he notes: "Most efficiency studies ignore social and environmental costs (e.g., groundwater depletion, pesticide contamination) because these costs are external to the farm. The study of economics is the study of selfishness, and therefore economists tend to ignore costs that the farm can force others to pay."

Diversified farm operations are ecologically safer than specialized ones, but, Strange asserts: "In agricultural economics, a bias against diversification persists, reflecting the conviction that doing one thing well on a large scale is more important than doing many things well on a small scale. It is a function of our fixation with maximums, and of our indifference to optimums."

Farmers go AWOL: Strange maintains that modern farming practices are being recognized as the No. 1 environmental issue in our society. (Indeed, as Congress begins to look at the 1990 farm bill, support for strengthened conservation measures is high.) But he says both farmers and environmentalists mistakenly pose the issue as farmer vs. environment.

While Strange calls "narrow" those environmentalists who ignore internal inequities in the farm economy, he says farmers are just as notable for being AWOL from the great social movements of our time. Meanwhile, "the search for an environmentally gentle way of producing food has barely begun, and is in great need of more ideas."

Strange recommends greater emphasis on preventive science. He suggests that for every public dollar spent developing new technologies, two should be spent anticipating their consequences.

But perhaps his boldest challenge is this: "If farmers are expected to steward natural resources even when doing so is not in their immediate self-interest, the rest of us must be willing to sacrifice the immediate benefits of cheap food for the long-range benefits of a sustainable food system."

In the picture of American agriculture Strange has painted, farmers and environmentalists are natural allies. Will another anti-ecology, anti-family-farming president be needed to forge the alliance? George Bush may be the man to do it. "I am an environmentalist!" he has declared. But if Strange is right about the need to reverse trends in agriculture and restrain unfettered technology, then Bush has some explaining to do. In one of his stump campaign speeches on farming, Bush said, "We are riding giant trends of history and technology that we cannot stop."

But if you believe Marty Strange, we have to. And environmentalist farmers must be the ones to do it.

Charles Isenhardt is a freelance writer based in Dubuque, Iowa, specializing in agriculture and the environment.

TIRED OF THAT HEAVY OLD DOCTRINE?
TRY NEW CATHOLIC Lite

Half the Hail Marys,
All the Absolution!!!

fig. 1

THE HARE SHIRT

A breed apart

fig. 2

DOING PENNANTS

fig. 3

NEW PRODUCTS

For suburban Parishes...

... And in the Hispanic Inner City

Rough

CUTS

JAKED

Loyalties: A Son's Memoir
By Carl Bernstein
Simon and Schuster, 262 pp., \$18.95

By Nelson Lichtenstein

Of shifting loyalties and the family ties that bind

CARL BERNSTEIN, OF WATERGATE fame, is a good reporter and a difficult son, which, taken together, give his memoir both its insight and its tension. There are two stories here. The first is a richly evocative tale of growing up Jewish and progressive in the still-segregated, half-Southern Washington, D.C., of the 1950s. The second is an awkward contest between father and son over what it meant to be a radical in the McCarthy era and what part of that past is useful today.

Bernstein has a fine memory of what the simple pleasures of childhood can offer: the joy of a new bike, the comradeship of other mischievous boys and the ever-widening exploration of his Chesapeake Street neighborhood. Along with so many others in the Jewish community, the Bernsteins moved to Silver Spring in the mid-'50s, to a suburban liberal enclave, just in time for Carl to embark on a rebellious adolescence.

All this he recounts with a sure sense of the significant detail: what it was like to smoke cigarettes during lunch at Blair High School and the thrill of drag racing down Colesville Road at midnight. To straighten him out, Carl's father got his son a job as a copyboy at the old *Washington Star*—the rest is journalism history.

Childhood's end: Bernstein's parents were not your ordinary Jewish liberals. They had been Popular Front progressives in the '30s, Communists for a few years in the mid-'40s, trade unionists, integrationists, defenders of the Rosenbergs and victims of the McCarthy era. Bernstein's memoir is therefore an exploration of the way that political currents of the time intersected and disrupted his otherwise comfortable childhood.

His parents were in the forefront of the effort to desegregate the Washington lunch counters and department store restaurants in the early '50s, but Carl hated these embarrassing expeditions that tore him from his playgroup, threw him together with children he didn't know and put him in an adult world he didn't understand.

The execution of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg was even more traumatic. The fate of this couple hovered over the Bernstein home as Carl's mother, Sylvia, threw her energies into organizing a Washington defense committee. By the time of their death, the Rosenbergs were "familiar," writes Bernstein. Indeed, the Rosenbergs had been married on the same day in 1939 as his own parents. "If they could be executed, what was to prevent the execution of one's own parents...?"

And then there were the congressional investigating committees, before which both of his parents were periodically hauled. The most painful experience came in 1954

after the House Un-American Activities Committee grilled his mother and other District leftists. Relatives and friends quickly ostracized Sylvia, a sociable woman who had been born in Washington and lived there most of her life. Neighborhood kids

COLD WAR

stopped coming around to play, and Carl got into a nasty fight in the schoolyard when a classmate called his mother a communist. And to cap it all off, his little sister was expelled from the cooperative nursery run by the D.C. Recreation Department.

FBI bar mitzvah: Naturally, his parents both developed huge FBI files, which Carl quotes to good effect—it's practically become a literary convention for political memoirs of recent vintage. The FBI remained an unseen presence in all of the Bernstein family's affairs: funerals, Sunday afternoon get-togethers, even Carl's bar mitzvah. As late as

1962, during the Cuban missile crisis, the FBI kept tabs on the family and their friends; they remained on Hoover's list of people to round up if the president declared a national-security emergency.

Counterpointing this childhood memoir is the story of Sylvia and Al Bernstein—their extended families, political activities and conflicts with the McCarthy-era thought police. All is told as part of a tension-filled dialogue with Carl as he seeks to record their story and uncover the passions and commitments that

made their lives so difficult.

Sylvia seems to have come to terms with her past, but Al Bernstein is a figure both admirable and irritating. A graduate of Columbia Law School, he was one of the corps of young New Deal lawyers who sought to investigate and reform the American plutocracy in the late Depression years. Unlike so many others who mellowed after the war, Al was a natural organizer and threw his talents into building an industrial union of federal employees, the United Federal Workers, whose member-

Bernstein's parents were in the forefront of efforts in the early '50s to desegregate lunch counters and department store restaurants in Washington. But he hated these embarrassing expeditions that put him in an adult world he didn't understand.

ship extended from mid-level white-collar professionals to the largely black janitorial and cafeteria staffs.

Al's work got really interesting in 1947 when President Truman inaugurated the McCarthy era by setting up a federal employee loyalty-security program. Within a few years the government brought almost 13,000 cases before its various loyalty boards, Star Chambers in which the accused knew neither the names of their accusers nor the exact charges against them. In his capacity as a union officer, Al Bernstein handled more than 500 of these cases, winning about 80 percent. One day Carl returned home to find a new TV set in the living room, a present from some of his father's grateful clients.

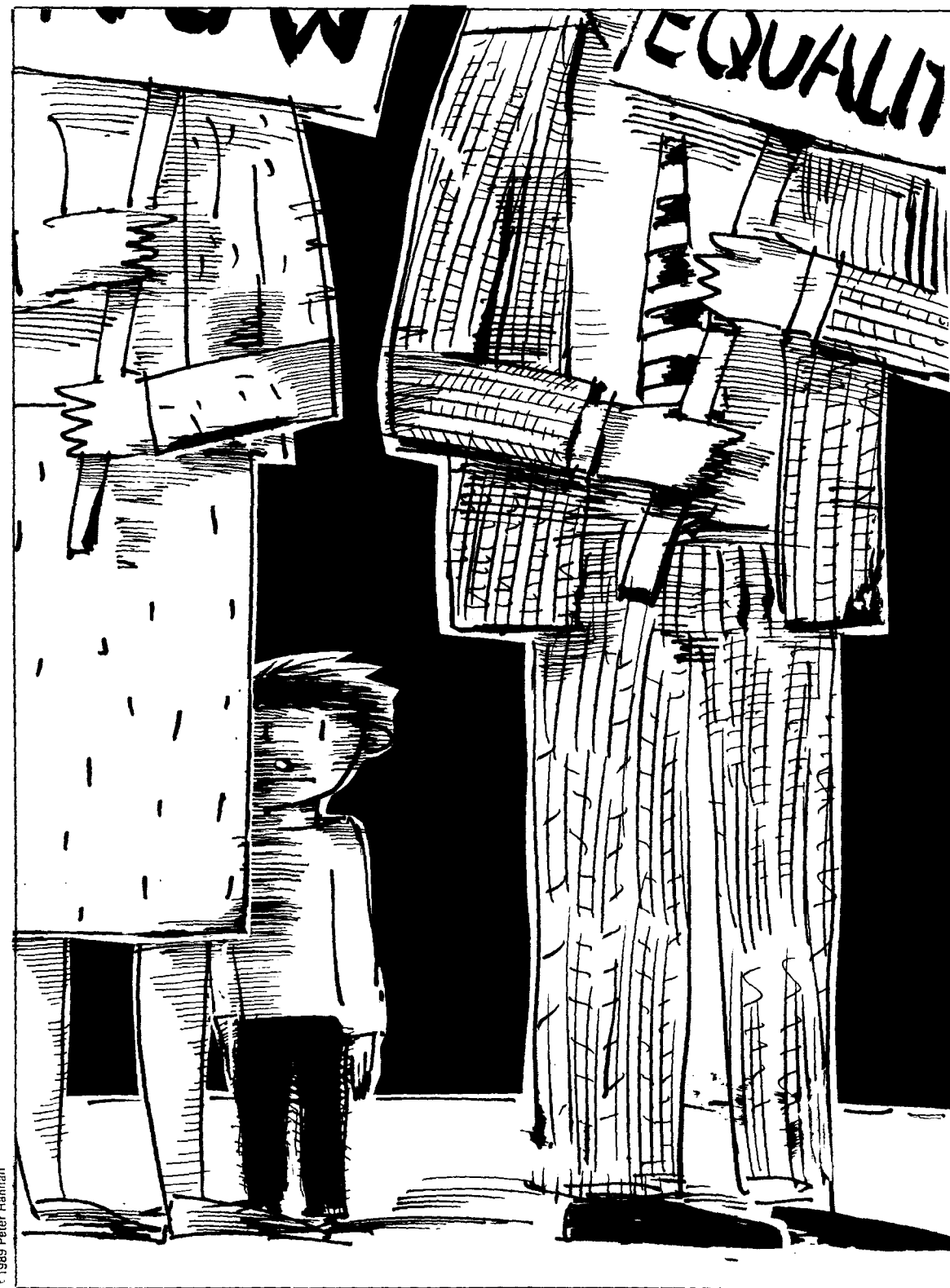
Life (and death) of the party: But the late '40s were hardly a triumphant time for Al Bernstein. His union was ground down, expelled from the CIO, and his livelihood destroyed. For a few years he operated a laundry on Georgia Avenue, until the McCarthy era abated and he could turn his considerable talents to fundraising for a series of Jewish and liberal charities.

But Al Bernstein still lives in a world in which the shadows of 1951 spread their darkness everywhere. "I don't want you to write a dishonest book," he tells Carl, "but I don't want you to write an evil book either." So he resists his son's efforts to probe the inner meaning of his transit through the Communist Party. To tell all, to uncover the passions and the personalities of that era, might still damage reputations and destroy what little political effectiveness his generation retains.

Al Bernstein's timidity exasperates Carl, and it unsettles the reader as well. After all, it's 40 years since those days, and dozens of once persecuted Communists, like Jessica Mitford and Julius Scales, have told their stories in recent years. But compared to these party members, the elder Bernstein's diffidence may have something of an explanation. Most of those ex-Communists who have spoken up were part of the generation of radicals who joined the Party in the '30s, often held full-time posts and then left after 1956. Their whole life was the party, and they now feel compelled to account for it.

But Al Bernstein's story is different: he joined the Communists at their most "liberal" moment in the war, and his most intense and rewarding years were bound up in building a union whose very survival depended on carving out an identity separate and distinct from the party. He was by nature a cautious man, yet his "punishment" was in many ways more severe than those more closely identified with the party. He never went to prison, but he lost his vocation, many friends and his chance to move the world. No wonder he had trouble telling son Carl about those days.

Nelson Lichtenstein is the editor of Harvey Swados' *On the Line*, to be reissued this fall by the University of Illinois Press.



© 1989 Peter Hannan

MUSIC



Influential rap group Public Enemy has been stuck "playing defense" after anti-Semitic interviews by one group member.

Public enemies and public relations

By Dan Booth

JANUARY, 1988: THE LARGELY white pop metal band Guns n' Roses, hot on the heels of their multiplatinum debut album, releases a follow-up, titled *G n' R Lies*. One album cut, "One In A Million," features racist stereotypes and homophobic, xenophobic paranoia. Within a few months, the new record sells two million copies.

June, 1989: black rap artists Public Enemy release the single "Fight the Power," featured in the film *Do The Right Thing*. A recent anti-Semitic interview given by one member of the group leads to criticism in the media. Within a few weeks, the new single is their first million-seller, but the band is temporarily sidelined by the controversy.

This is the recent story of two popular bands who have talked their way into dangerous political territory. The controversies, however, have varied drastically.

The vinyl solution: "Fight the Power" is only the most recent of Public Enemy's incendiary hip-hop tracts; their second album, *It Takes a Nation of Millions to Hold Us Back*, has sold almost a million copies.

They've come to dominate the music with their strong lyrical critique of the white power structure. Other rappers generally credit them with broadening both the music and the boundaries of what it can discuss.

But one member of the group has crashed into that boundary head-on. Professor Griff, who earned his place on the media soapbox as PE's Minister of Information, had tinted interviews with anti-Semitic remarks for more than a year before this interview with David Mills of the *Washington Times*, printed on May 22.

"I'm not saying all of them. The majority of them [laughter], the majority of them, yes."

"Are what? Jews are responsible for..."

"The majority of the wickedness that goes on across the globe? Yes. Jews. Yes."

When asked for sources, he cited Steve Cokely, an aide to Chicago's ex-Mayor Eugene Sawyer. Cokely was fired after speaking about the "international Jewish conspiracy" and declaring that Jewish doctors were injecting black babies with the AIDS virus.

Professor Griff is a sideman in Public Enemy. He runs the Security

of the First World, the group's paramilitary stage show, and lectures from the stage. In this instance he's like an offensive lineman who misses the quarterback's signals, letting in a full-scale blitz by the media and political organizations. Now Chuck D., the bandleader and lead vocalist, is stuck "playing defense," as he told RJ Smith, music columnist for the *Village Voice*, who reprinted parts of the *Washington Times* interview June 14.

Harry Allen, another *Village Voice* columnist and cohort of the members of Public Enemy, says that "Public Enemy's public rope-a-dope was mostly spurred on by the rebirth of the *Washington Times* article written by David Mills, as delivered by mid-wife RJ Smith."

Threats and promises: Chuck D. was angry enough at the column to phone Smith with these thoughts: "Any shit comes down on me, it's coming down on you. And that's a goddamned threat! Write this down! ... This nigger [Griff], if he's gonna get fucked, I'm gonna put the heat on him." But Chuck was a little late; the heat was already on. The Jewish Defense Organization was mailing Smith's article to record stores and

distributors, asking them not to stock "Fight The Power." Death threats, anonymous calls to members of Public Enemy's inner circle, had started to come in.

At a June 19 press conference, Chuck D. announced that Professor Griff was being fired and clarified the band's relation to Griff's statements, which he said were "not in line with Public Enemy's program at all.... We're not anti-Jewish, we are not anti-anybody. We are pro-black, pro-black culture and pro-human race."

But this statement didn't turn off the heat. The following day Chuck D. announced that Public Enemy was disbanding.

The breakup has since been declared temporary, and Professor Griff has even been rehired, although he probably won't be giving interviews for some time. The band is trying to come to terms with a record label—but on their own terms. Their negotiations toward a record deal with MCA, which were active until June, were cut off after the label stipulated that the band would not be able to make comments about any religious groups. This leaves them back at Columbia Records.

On whatever record label, the band is expecting to release their next album, called *Fear of a Black Planet*, before the end of the year. Public Enemy will continue to use rap music as the medium for disseminating political information. "In hip-hop, what you're having are very sharp minds making our history funky, and thus digestible," says Harry Allen, self-styled Hip-hop Activist and Media Assassin.

On the next album, Allen says, "Public Enemy will explore some of the structure of white supremacy as a function, as it is based in the failure of the Caucasian people to repopulate.... They will talk about some of its structure, especially as that structure applies to the needs of white people (so-called) to maintain a psychological dominance, especially in light of their downwardly sliding birthrate, and the historical fact that they have never been the majority that they portray themselves to be."

One in a nation of millions: One white guy who needs to express a psychological dominance is Guns n' Roses lead singer and lyricist Axl Rose. Interviewed in the July 25 issue of *Rolling Stone*, Axl describes himself as someone who drives through gay neighborhoods, yelling, "Why don't you guys like pussy?" out the car window. He does this in the process of "explaining" these lyrics from their album, *G n' R Lies*.

*Police and niggers, that's right,
Get out of my way
Don't need to buy none of your
gold chains today...
Immigrants and faggots
They make no sense to me
They come to our country
And think they'll do as they please
Like start some mini-Iran
Or spread some fucking disease
They talk so many goddamn ways
It's all Greek to me*

—"One In A Million"

The band's publicity department is refreshingly blunt about the song's content. "Yes, it's racist and homophobic," says Bryn Bridenthal of Geffen Records. The band was aware of that well before the record's release. But, she says, "they sort of decided among themselves that freedom of speech was more important."

Axl gives his perspective in the *Rolling Stone* interview. Both he and the interviewer, *Rip* magazine editor Del James, treat the words used as the objectionable objects, and not the stereotypes they represent.

The first problem word addressed is "immigrants." Axl says, "A lot of people from countries like Iran, Pakistan, China, Japan, etc., get jobs in these convenience stores and gas stations. Then they treat you like you don't belong here." The way he talks about a mini-Iran, you'd think we were being invaded via our Seventies.

Then Axl explains who he meant by "faggots." When asked if he's anti-homosexual, he evades by saying,



Racist and homophobic lyrics haven't kept metal/pop-rockers Guns n' Roses from selling millions of records.

"I'm pro-heterosexual.... I'm not against them doing what they want to do as long as it's not hurting anybody else and they're not forcing it upon me. I don't need them to put it in my face, or, pardon the pun, up my ass about it." It makes a little more sense now why Axl put these two phrases together: they've invaded the country, and you know where they're heading next.

Finally, to explain the word "nigger," Axl tries to rewrite the dictionary. "The word 'nigger' doesn't necessarily mean black. Doesn't John Lennon have a song called 'Woman Is the Nigger of the World?'"

Bums and posers: A similar angle is taken by G n' R guitarist Slash in an August letter to the metal magazine *Rip*, which also lets Guns n' Roses escape without editorial comment. Slash tries to persuade *Rip* readers that they used the word to describe "a low-grade, lazy individual," of any racial or ethnic group. He writes, "It's a drag that some ass-

hole somewhere, sometime, decided long ago that the word 'nigger' and its meaning was deserved by the black race."

It's also a drag that Guns n' Roses think that people hearing the word "nigger" won't associate it with black people. Slash writes, "Being part black myself, I take offense at hearing the word 'nigger' as well." Presumably, this applies to hearing it on his own record. Furthermore, Axl makes it clear in *Rolling Stone* that he's referring to "black men selling stolen jewelry, crack, heroin and pot." (Axl's beef with these dealers is that the stuff's no good: "Most of the drugs are bogus.")

Axl's dictionary could still use some work. So could Griff's, judging by his etymology lesson in the *Washington Times*. "Is it a coincidence that the Jews run the jewelry business and it's called *jew-elry*? No coincidence." But Axl's Unabridged is on top of the charts, while Griff's has been taken out of print and fu-

ture releases in the PE series have been indefinitely delayed.

To Harry Allen, "One In A Million" reveals nothing. "The majority of the people who buy that album have used the word 'nigger' to describe black people.... The statements of Guns n' Roses, musically and philosophically, satisfy the diseased and racist tendencies of a diseased and racist culture."

The fact that they're still willing to address "One In A Million" shows an understanding that they deserve some reprimand. They still haven't received it. The Gay Men's Health Crisis did pull the band out of an AIDS benefit. Beyond that and some negative mail to their record company there was nothing—until Public Enemy regrouped.

Their press release, issued August 8, ended by saying, "Please direct any further questions to Axl Rose." RJ Smith, apparently eager to make up for "fanning the fire" under Public Enemy, quickly seized the opportu-

nity to pounce on Axl in the August 22 *Voice*.

The rage gauge: One way to measure the effects of a controversy is by the extent to which its central figures are harmed. By this measure, Guns n' Roses suffered nothing but a minor flap. Unless RJ Smith's new column has an effect like his Public Enemy coverage, the band will have absorbed almost all damages to their reputation.

For Public Enemy, it won't be that easy. They are still facing a hostile press, but more problematically for the band, the potential that their core audience will think they've sold out. At the June 19 press conference, Chuck D. was asked if getting rid of Griff didn't simply mean he was giving in to outside pressure. Bringing Griff back into the fold is the latest scene in Chuck D.'s difficult balancing act.

Griff will now play a much narrower role in Public Enemy than before the controversy. His bigoted

thoughts appeared in a few newspaper interviews, while Axl has aired his on radios, records and interviews across the country. Chuck D. needed to call a press conference to separate Griff, and some of his statements, from the PE message. But because Axl inscribed his message into a G n' R record, with his bandmates' consent, the two are implicitly linked.

Griff lost his job, while Axl appeared on the cover of *Rolling Stone*. The music industry was outraged and stunned by Professor Griff, but allowed Guns n' Roses the opportunity to excuse themselves.

It appears to be a fairly clear double standard: racism in predominantly white (metal) music can be forgiven, even when the musicians stand up for their right to vent their racism in the mass media, but it's deemed unconscionable in predominantly black (rap) music, whose musicians are required to forswear it. ■

Children of the Left

Directed by Eric Stange

By Karen Rosenberg

I DIDN'T KNOW THAT COUNTRY JOE McDonald's parents were once Communist Party members until I saw Eric Stange's documentary *Children of the Left*. For good reason, it turns out: the singer hadn't spoken in public before about his background. One wonders how many continuities in American history would be clear if radicalism weren't taboo, potentially damaging or at least an embarrassment in much of the U.S. The refrain of McDonald's famous protest song about Vietnam, "And it's one, two, three, what are we fighting for?" won't sound the same in my head now that I know he spoke not just for many of his generation but for some of his parents' as well.

The social documentary won't die as long as there are stories to be told that aren't taught in public schools. I remember my exhilaration in the '70s, seeing and hearing "union maids" and the Hollywood Ten tell their version of the past. The generation of the '30s may be slowly passing away (two targets of McCarthyism, C.L.R. James and Owen Lattimore, recently died in their late 80s), but that doesn't mean its experience is soon to be lost. It lives on, not just in newsreels but in families, in their anecdotes and attitudes. Even those who have rebelled against their background have rarely forgotten it.

"The Cold War is only cold until it hits you," recalls McDonald, whose father lost his job and his house after he refused to testify about his political affiliations and beliefs. We need aphorisms like this one to unwrap the pre-packaged past. And Stange has a good ear for them.

Cost-benefit analysis: Who knows, you may even develop some

What's left out of history?



Director Eric Stange unearths a hidden legacy in his recent documentary, *Children of the Left*.

sympathy for neoconservative David Horowitz as he describes the colony of Communists he grew up in: a Red outpost within a conservative Irish working-class section of Queens. His father said the streets where they lived were named for realtors, so renaming them after Harriet Tubman and other heroes became a family ritual. For Horowitz, that story shows the desire of Communists to control and dominate their environment. To me, it poignantly expresses the American

left's isolation and its penchant for imagining another reality.

Stange emphasizes the benefits as well as the costs of growing up Red. Joan Sokoloff, daughter of a Massachusetts party activist, re-

Stange has a good ear for aphorisms that can unwrap the pre-packaged past.

calls developing a belief in racial equality and social justice that made her feel comfortable in the civil rights movement. Richard Healey, executive director of *Nuclear Times* magazine, learned the excitement of agitating from his mother Dorothy, a Communist leader in California, as well as from his grandmother and the extended family of party members.

How much politics each Red-Diaper Baby picked up at home is not altogether clear, however.

Sokoloff remembers that in her family some books were considered politically correct, while others—like *Gone with the Wind*—were definitely not. I'd love to know whether she cracked the orthodox classics, and, if she opened the works on the parental censorship list, did she confess?

J. Edgar Hoover probably believed "commies" brainwashed their kids at regular intervals, but the rest of us can safely assume that there was a lot of range in the amount of influence parents had. Unfortunately, Stange interviews no one who is presently a party member. Eugene Dennis Jr., son of a national party official, says he dropped out in 1968, tired of being held responsible for party policies. (In fact, most of the parents of the interviewees left the party sooner or later.) But I gather that the small American Communist Party does contain some Red-Diaper Babies and their parents, and their stories are also part of the hidden story of the left.

At slightly less than an hour, Stange's documentary only whets the historical appetite. But as long as videos like his have few venues other than the one-hour time slots on PBS, we are unlikely to catch more than a passing glimpse of the radical past. And as long as schools don't teach the subject, a substantial part of these documentaries is going to be taken up with the basic historical facts. Recent American films on the Spanish Civil War, the Hollywood blacklist, the Old Left and, now, Red-Diaper Babies review much the same ground. Yet cinema can go far beyond the 101 level. Will it ever get a chance to tell the epic of the American left, complete with significant details? ■

Karen Rosenberg often writes on politics and culture.

For more information on *Children of the Left*, contact *Newton Television Foundation*, 1608 Beacon St., Waban, MA 02168, (617) 965-8477.

IN THESE TIMES SEPTEMBER 6-12, 1989 21

Peru

Continued from page 13

"It was right then that the talks broke down. The nationalization was a rash move to gain popular support."

Garcia announced the bank nationalization in 1987. A year later the government quietly returned the banks in which the state intervened to the private sector. The nationalization led to the political birth of Vargas Llosa, a free-market advocate and a visceral anti-communist, who formed the Movimiento de Libertad (Freedom Movement) to scuttle the plan.

The growing power of the Maoist guerrilla movement Shining Path, or Sendero Luminoso as it is called in Spanish, has added to the country's instability. Peru returned to democracy in 1980 after 12 years of military

rule. It was that same year that Shining Path went underground. It has since been responsible for many deaths and an estimated \$10 billion in economic damage.

When he came to office, Garcia pledged to curb human rights abuses such as those that occurred under his predecessor, Belaunde, and to combat the guerrillas with development programs aimed at improving the living standards of the impoverished peasants in the highlands of Ayacucho, where Shining Path initiated its armed campaign.

During Garcia's first two years in office disappearances and extrajudicial killings declined. But the government's decision to allow the military to bloodily crush a 1986 rebellion staged in three Lima prisons by guerrilla inmates presaged the heavy-handed counterinsurgency policy followed over the past two years.

Garcia promised that the officers responsible for the 249 deaths in the prison massacres would be brought to justice: "Either they go or I go," he said. But not a single person has been charged.

Path of violence: "The increase in political violence has come in the context of an aggravation of political and economic crisis," says Francisco Soberon, director of Asociacion Pro Derechos Humanos (Aprodeh), a local human rights organization.

In a recent interview, Soberon said that he believed the country faces the worst human rights situation since the Belaunde government put the departments of Ayacucho, Apurimac and Huancavelica under military control in December 1982. At least 15,000 people have been killed in the conflict since 1980.

Since Shining Path launched its first armed

action by blowing up a voting station in a remote village in Ayacucho in May 1980, the guerrillas have expanded their activities to force the government to put a third of the country's territory under a state of emergency, which grants political power to the military and suspends constitutional guarantees.

Besides its traditional base in Ayacucho, Shining Path has established a stronghold in the northern region of Tingo Maria, where it has forged an alliance with coca growers, and in the central mining districts. It has also made inroads into some shantytowns in Lima.

Unpopular movement: But the movement, which follows the Maoist doctrine of "encircling" the cities from the countryside, is regarded as no match for the powerful military and doesn't appear to have widespread support. A smaller Marxist guerrilla group, the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movement, also appears not to have a large following. Government estimates are that the two groups have a combined membership of 3,000 members, but others believe these estimates are too low.

Raul Gonzalez, a Lima sociologist who studies Shining Path, attributes their lack of support to their failure to articulate a clear political plan. Indeed, Shining Path seldom makes public pronouncements and has published just a handful of political documents.

Another weakness, according to Gonzalez, is that Shining Path has managed to establish support only among marginalized groups such as poor peasants, disenchanted students and coca growers. These links aren't sufficient to forge a nationwide alliance, according to Gonzalez.

Evidence also suggests that Shining Path is incapable of breaking into areas where people are already politically organized.

For instance, a couple of years ago Shining Path failed in its bid to win support in the southern department of Puno, which has strong church and leftist popular move-

ments. In late July most of the work force ignored Shining Path's call for an armed strike in Lima.

But although Shining Path has been unable to generate a coherent nationwide following, it has undeniably managed to wreak severe economic damage and to weaken the country's democratic institutions.

In recent months Shining Path has escalated its armed campaign. In an apparent new strategy, it has targeted United Left activists, church groups and foreign development workers.

Further complicating the situation is the appearance of death squads, believed responsible for six assassinations, an attempted murder and 59 bombings, raids and threats between January 1988 and February 1989, according to local human rights groups.

In February the Rodrigo Franco Command, named for a government official killed by Shining Path, reportedly was responsible for the Lima killing of Saul Cantoral, head of the miners union. Government opponents have charged that the recently named Interior Minister Augustin Mantilla is linked to the death squads.

Though coup rumors have occasionally shaken the Garcia government, the military seems unlikely to intervene at this time. Many analysts believe the generals have no desire to assume responsibility for presiding over the country's economic mess.

An indication of where Peru is headed will come in November with municipal elections, which are expected to be a dry run of the presidential election.

But with the economy showing little sign of improvement and the Shining Path's campaign encroaching upon Lima, Peru appears to be confronting a deepening crisis.

Gregory N. Heires, a reporter for the *Waterbury Republican* in Connecticut, reported from Peru for three years. He has written on Peru, Bolivia and Chile for *In These Times*.



NICARAGUA'S PREMIER AFRO-LATIN BAND

Luis Enrique Mejia Godoy and Mancotal
U.S. TOUR · Sept.-Oct '89

Co-sponsored by Redwood Cultural Work, Nicaragua Network and Witness for Peace

Call 415-428-9191 for tour info

IT WASN'T HIS DRIVING THAT CAUSED THE ALASKAN OIL SPILL. IT WAS YOURS.

It would be easy to blame the Valdez oil spill on one man. Or one company. Or even one industry.

Too easy. Because the truth is, the spill was caused by a nation drunk on oil. And a government asleep at the wheel.

Immediately after the Valdez spill, the administration said it was an isolated incident. Tell that to the people in Texas, Rhode Island, and Delaware who have all had to deal with oil spills of their own since the Valdez.

What it comes down to is this: As long as we are dependent on fossil fuels and wasteful of the oil we have, more offshore drilling and disastrous oil spills are inevitable.

But together we can curb our nation's dependency on oil.



We can shelve Bush's plan to lease the continental shelf to offshore drillers in places like Alaska's Bristol Bay, Florida's Coral Reef, North Carolina's Outer Banks, New England's Georges Bank, and the entire California Coastline.

We can put pressure on Washington to tighten auto efficiency standards and restore the funding for renewable energy sources that Reagan took away.

We can convince U.S. automakers to stop pushing large cars and muscle cars, and get back to marketing more fuel efficient automobiles. Together, we can put the brakes on our nation's oil dependency before it's too late.

GREENPEACE

1436 U Street NW, Washington, DC 20009

C A L E N D A R

Use the Calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is \$25.00 for one insertion, \$35.00 for two insertions and \$15.00 for each additional insert, for copy of 50 words or less (additional words are 50¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of ITT Calendar.

NEW YORK September 7

THE NEW YORK MARXIST SCHOOL
FRIDAY, Sept. 7-NYMS presents the first lecture in its new series, THE FUTURE OF SOCIALISM: Marxist Theory and Developments in Socialist Transition, Richard Levins, 8 p.m.

The event takes place at the Brecht Forum, 79 Leonard St. (five blocks below Canal, between Church and Broadway). Unless otherwise listed, admission is \$5. For information call (212) 941-0332.

AMES, IOWA September 17-20

"Critiques of Capitalist Agriculture. Speakers: Michael Perelman on Farming for Profit, S.K. Thorat on the Green Revolution in Asia, Merle Hanson on Progressive Farm Movements, Susan Mann on Patriarchy and Agriculture. For information contact Tony Smith, (515) 294-3341.

SEATTLE September 23

The Seattle Rainforest Action Group and other co-sponsors present The Lacandone Rainforest Project Conference, "A Common Destiny," from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. at the Daybreak Star Cultural Center in Discovery Park. The future of the Mayan Lacandone, whose lives are intimately linked to the land, rests with the future of their rainforests. Although part of their homeland is a designated biological reserve, much has already been destroyed, and what remains is

seriously threatened from deforestation. Conference goals include educating the public about the Lacandone culture and exploring ways to help in preserving their forests. Bringing together the Lacandone and six Northwest Indian tribes, this conference will be a unique experience for the audience and the Lacandone leaders, who have never before left their forest homeland. Pre-registration is strongly encouraged. For information contact The Lacandone Rainforest Project, P.O. Box 95967, Seattle, WA 98145; Lisa Dabek, (206) 547-2378, or Kurt Russo, (206) 647-6258.

CHICAGO September 23

Illinois Labor History Society presents "Writers as Workers," a symposium examining the literary and political significance of the WPA Writers' Project in Illinois, which created the famous *WPA Guide to Illinois* in 1939. Among the working writers attending the 50th anniversary reunion are Studs Terkel, Margaret Walker, Maridel LeSeur, Franklin Folsom, Sam Ross, Marion Knoblauch Franc and Dave Peltz. Top-flight scholars Jerre Mangione, Alan Wald, Douglas Wixson, Michael Anania, Lorraine Brown, Neil Harris and J. Fred MacDonald will participate. The event takes place at the Newberry Library of Chicago (60 W. Walton St.) from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. The symposium is co-sponsored with the cooperation of READ ILLINOIS, a program of the Illinois State Library and the Secretary of State, Jim Edgar. For information contact: Alan Harris Stein, Project Director, or Leslie F. Orear, I.L.H.S. President, at (312) 663-4107.

ESTELI, NICARAGUA September 23-October 28

NICA offers five weeks of intensive Spanish classes, a political and cultural program, family living, and community involvement. An educational, cross-cultural experience in beautiful northern Nicaragua. Some financial aid available. NICA, P.O. Box 1409-IT, Cambridge, MA 02238, (617) 497-7142.

HELP WANTED

COMMUNITY JOBS. socially responsible job opportunities. Subscribe to the only monthly nationwide listing, covering peace & justice, civil rights, unions, consumer advocacy, organizing, social work, and more. \$12 6 issues. COMMUNITY JOBS, Box 1029, 1516 P St. NW, Washington, DC 20005.

NATIONAL ORGANIZER. NISGUA, Guatemala solidarity network. Promote, coordinate campaigns; mobilize grassroots network. Solidarity experience, excellent verbal skills required. 1314 14th St. NW, Washington, DC 20005, (202) 483-0050.

CATHOLIC-ORTHODOX BROTHERS. Tired of churches fighting? Be a brother, organized by Latin and Byzantine priests in good standing, in California Eastern Canada. Only devout, humble, unmarried young men, anxious for harmony and understanding, willing to work, study, pray to bring Christ's friendship and peace to other apostolic churches. Write detailed personals to receive initial information to Father Walter Rush, Box 614, San Francisco, CA 94101.

CO-DIRECTORS. The Institute for Policy Studies is hiring Co-Directors for three new Working Groups: A New USA Foreign Policy, Global Economic Integration, Democracy in the USA and World. Send resume letter; references preferably by Sept. 30 to: IPS, 1601 Connecticut Ave. NW, Washington, DC 20009. No telephone calls please.

Experienced 2-COLOR STRIPPER and PRESS OPERATOR to join multi-racial printing collective. Self-managed union shop. Part of the movement for political, social and economic change for 15 years. Experience necessary. Women and people of color especially encouraged to apply. RED SUN PRESS, 94 Green St., Boston, MA 02130, (617) 524-6822.

Teamsters for a Democratic Union (the rank-and-file movement for reform and democracy in the Teamsters Union) seeks an **ORGANIZER.** Recruit and organize rank and file; build local chapters and national campaigns; write

C L A S S I F I E D S

newspaper articles and other literature. Strong commitment to labor movement a must; experience as organizer or rank-and-file activist preferred; computer skills helpful. Salary low, but negotiable. Benefits. Send resume to TDU, Box 10128, Detroit, MI 48210, (313) 842-2600.

Oregon Public Employees Union, SEIU Local 503, representing over 17,000 public employees, seeks applicants for **FIELD SERVICES COORDINATOR.** We are looking for a dedicated, hard-working senior staff member to help manage a staff of 51 (18 field staff). Position requires experienced unionist with solid background in directing staff, organizing, negotiations, politics, contract and general administration. Proven track record involving work-site action and worker empowerment techniques a must. Long hours, hard work, but potential in a growing union. \$2932-3500 per month; competitive and comprehensive salary and benefit package. Send resume to Executive Director, OPEU, P.O. Box 12159, Salem, OR 97309, (503) 581-1505. Sept. 15 deadline. EOE.

Oregon Public Employees Union, SEIU Local 503, representing over 17,000 public employees, seeks applicants for **FIELD REPRESENTATIVE** positions. Duties include internal and external organizing, negotiations and contract administration. All serious applicants must be committed to developing rank-and-file empowerment. Salary will vary based on experience; monthly range: FIELD REP. \$1891-2661; SENIOR FIELD REP. \$2793-3229. Long hours, hard work, but great potential in a growing union. Application deadline, Sept. 15. Send resume to Executive Director, OPEU, P.O. Box 12159, Salem, OR 97309, (503) 581-1505. EOE.

Fight Apartheid! Support Nicaragua!

Engineers, Technicians, Translators, Computer and Health Professionals, Mechanics, Skilled Tradespersons, Educators are urgently needed for both short and long term positions in Nicaragua and with the ANC, SWAPO and Frontline States. For information, contact: Dept. I 3254 Adeline Street, Berkeley, CA 94703 (415) 655-3838

UNION ORGANIZER for AFL-CIO Union Philadelphia. Job includes all aspects of organizing: developing contacts, building organizing committees and running campaigns. Union organizing experience a must (community organizing experience considered). Ability to speak Spanish a big plus. Good starting salary. Excellent benefits. Send resume to: "Organizer," P.O. Box 30034, Philadelphia, PA 19103.

Labor Notes, the newsletter of grass roots trade unionists, is looking for a **STAFFER** with some or all of the following skills: writing and editing, organizing meetings and conferences, speaking, fundraising. Labor movement experience desirable. Computer skills helpful. Send resume to: Labor Notes, 7435 Michigan Ave., Detroit, MI 48210, (313) 842-6262.

IN THESE TIMES needs a part-time phone person for our current subscription renewal campaign. \$6.00 hr, 20 hrs. wk. Some experience and knowledge of ITT news coverage preferred but not necessary. Call Bill Finley, Mon.-Fri., 10 a.m.-5 p.m., (312) 772-0100.

PUBLICATIONS

GAY COMMUNITY NEWS, Since 1973, the only national newsweekly covering lesbian and gay life and liberation. Each week GCN brings you the liveliest mix of news, analysis and entertainment around, as well as a monthly Book Review Supplement and special issues on topics ranging from new gay male performers to lesbian safer sex. 1 year, \$33; 6 months, \$20. GCN Subscriptions, 62 Berkeley St., Boston, MA 02116.

This publication is available in microform from University Microfilms International.

Call toll-free 800-521-3044. In Michigan, Alaska and Hawaii call collect 313-761-4700. Or mail inquiry to: University Microfilms International, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

BOOKS. EXTENSIVE LABOR HISTORY COLLECTION. Adult Education and Worker's Education. Scholarly, trade, many rare. Catalogue for \$2.75. Lindsay and Associates, P.O. Box 3177, Chico, CA 95927-4193.

INNER GUIDES, VISIONS & DREAMS. Send for best-selling how-to book. \$7.50 complete. Free catalog. Path, 210 California Ave., Dept. L, Palo Alto, CA 94306.

PRODUCTS

CATALOG OF BEAUTIFUL CRUELTY-FREE COSMETICS, TOILETRIES, biodegradable, household products, non-toxic pet products, recycled paper and more! Caring people would never use products that have been developed through painful testing on animals. For our 36-page catalog please send \$1.00 to Ecco Bella, Dept. IT8-89, 125 Pompton Plains Crossroad, Wayne, NJ 07470. We donate 20% of our profits to help animals and the environment.

TRAVEL

HITCH A RIDE TO EUROPE ANYTIME on a commercial jet for no more than \$160 from the East Coast, \$269 from the West Coast, or \$229 from anywhere else. For details, call AIRHITCH, (212) 864-2000 or write 2901 Broadway, Suite 100, NYC 10025.

PERSONALS

THE LONELY MAN in dire need of correspondence. Please write: Ricky White, Camp 7, #62655, Parchman, MS 38738.

Nuclear War



T-shirts \$11

Post Paid
M-L-XL
Other designs:
Dyslexics of the World
Untie; JP
sartre for
Beast Nothingness Decaf;
Swine Coolers; Terrier
Barking Water; MORE

Send 50¢ for catalogue of cards and T-shirts to CARD ATTACK-Box 10264 Chicago, 60610-0264

CONCERNED SINGLES NEWSLETTER links left singles, nationwide. Free sample. P.O. Box 555-T, Stockbridge, MA 01262.

NATIONWIDE SINGLES PHOTO MAGAZINE. Send: name, address, age. Send no money. Exchange, 1817 Welton, #1580-BA, Denver, CO 80202.

THE MAN WHO WOULD HAVE BEEN A CAPITALIST...except he got caught... needs a letter. Please write: Patrick Earl, #20149-148, Box 1000-USP, Lewisburg, PA 17837.

BLACK WRITER-POET in dire need of communication correspondence. Clarence Jones, 87A7347, Shawangunk Correctional Facility, Box 700, Walkill, NY 12589.

SM honest, playful, attractive, activist, 30s, fit. Seeks similar woman. Not a commitment-phobe. Box 1989, NYC 10116. Photo appreciated. Also visits Washington, DC.

INSTRUCTION

The **CLAYTON SCHOOL OF NATURAL HEALING** offers Doctor of Naturopathy (N.D.) program by correspondence. Learn to practice profitably, legally. Catalog \$3. 1704-IT 11th Ave. South, Birmingham, AL 35205. Please include telephone number.

The **AMERICAN HOLISTIC COLLEGE OF NUTRITION** offers B.S., M.S., and Ph.D. programs in Nutrition by correspondence. Catalog \$3. 1704-IT 11th Ave. South, Birmingham, AL 35205. Please include telephone number.

Postcards and T-Shirts for the Overqualified!

"AMERICA IS LIKE A MELTING POT—THE PEOPLE AT THE BOTTOM GET BURNED AND THE SCUM FLOATS TO THE TOP"

—Charlie King

YOUR FRIDGE WILL LOVE US!

Philosophy, psychology, cats, American Leftists (gulp!) and much more lampooned by Jennifer Berman.

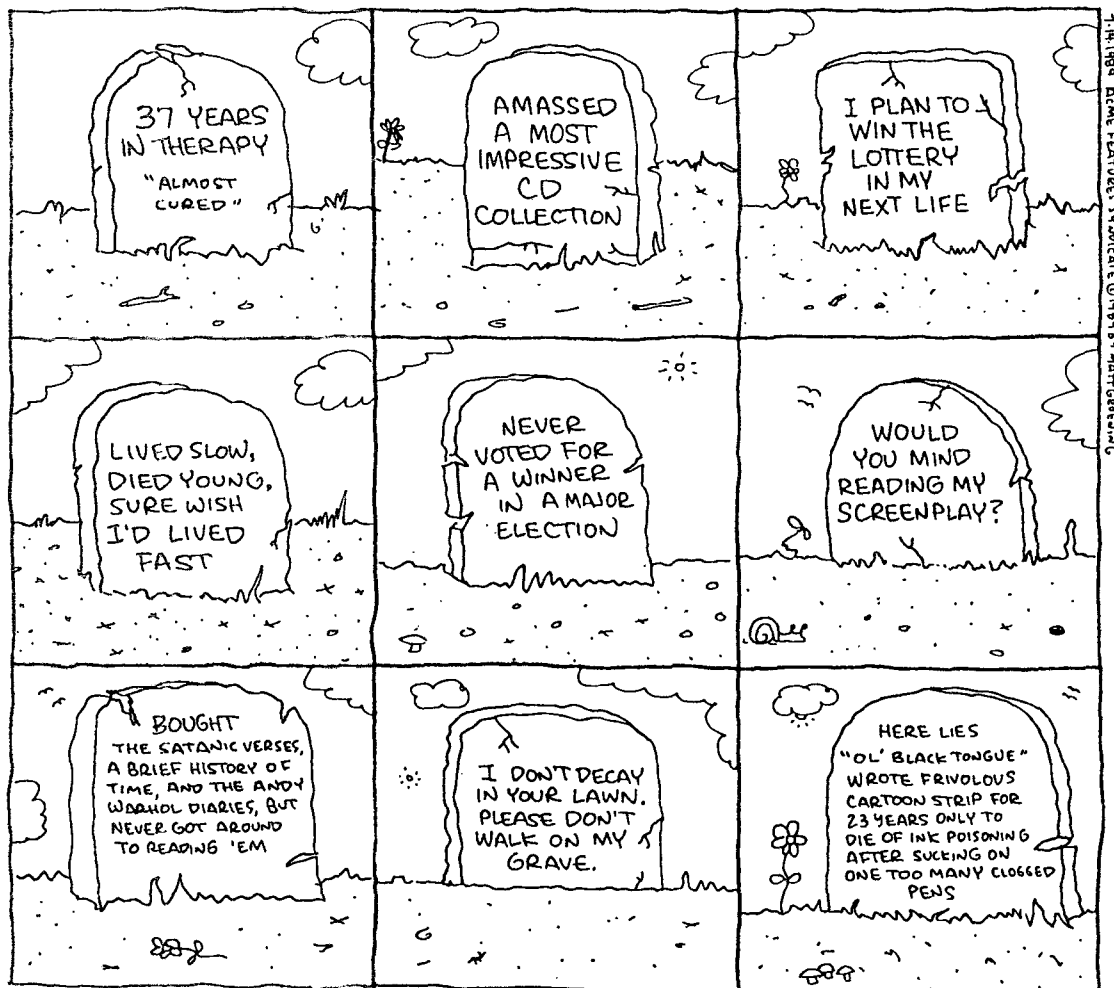
For your almost free catalog of goodies, please send 75¢ in stamps to: Humerus Cartoons • Jennifer Berman P.O. Box 6614 • Evanston, IL • 60204-6614

LIFE IN HELL

LIFE IN HELL

©1989 BY MATT GROENING (WITH SAM SIMON)

WHAT DO YOU WANT ON YOUR TOMBSTONE?



CASA NICARAGUENSE DE ESPAÑOL

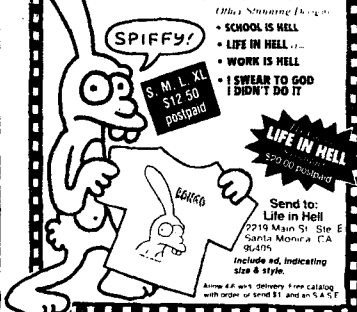
All Nicaragua is a school!
A SPANISH LANGUAGE, POLITICAL & CULTURAL STUDY CENTER IN MANAGUA, NICARAGUA

- Study Spanish four hours daily at all levels
- Live with a Nicaraguan family
- Meet with representatives from government institutions and mass organizations
- Visit cooperatives, community projects and attend cultural events
- Year-round sessions
- CNE is in need of ESL teachers

For more information send S.A.S.E. to: CNE, 2330 W. Third St., Ste. 4 Los Angeles, CA 90057 (213) 386-8077

FUN in HELL

Show Off Your Bad Attitude With A BONGO T-SHIRT



IN THESE TIMES Classified Ads Grab Attention

Word Rates:

- 90¢ per word / 1 or 2 issues
- 80¢ per word / 3-5 issues
- 75¢ per word / 6-9 issues
- 70¢ per word / 10-19 issues
- 60¢ per word / 20 or more issues

Display Inch Rates:

- \$30 per inch / 1 or 2 issues
- \$28 per inch / 3-5 issues
- \$26 per inch / 6-9 issues
- \$24 per inch / 10-19 issues
- \$22 per inch / 20 or more issues

All classified ads must be prepaid. Ad deadline is Friday, 12 days before the date of publication. All issues dated on Wednesday.

Enclosed is my check for \$_____ for _____ week(s).

Please indicate desired heading _____

Advertiser _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Send to:

IN THESE TIMES, Classified Ads, 2040 N. Milwaukee, Chicago, IL 60647.

James Spader



Laura San Giacomo



Peter Gallagher



Andie MacDowell



where the truth lies

By Patrick Z. McGavin

THE ONCE-THRIVING INDEPENDENT AMERICAN cinema is gasping for air, drained of life by the studios' market dominance. The indie movement has been left reeling in the wake of John Cassavetes' death, Robert Altman's work stoppage and the studio defections of Spike Lee, George Romero and John Sayles. This situation underscores the need for Steven Soderbergh, whose dramatic ascent is a vital tonic for independent filmmaking.

Soderbergh's spectacular arrival occasioned a torrent of hype and adulation. The praise is justified by the eagerly awaited national release of Soderbergh's first feature, *sex, lies and videotape*, which he wrote, directed and edited. A late entry into the official competition at the Cannes film festival in May, the film walked off with three major awards: Palme d'Or, Best Actor for James Spader and the international critics' prize. At the preposterous age of 26, Soderbergh became the youngest director ever to win the Palme d'Or. Stunned by the news, he accepted his laurels in mock jest, declaring, "I guess it's all downhill from here."

He wasn't joking. "That's what was going through my mind," Soderbergh said in a recent interview. "I've been set up. I will have a footnote in film history as being the person who peaked at 26. That's really what I felt at the time, like *why are you doing this to me?* Now I feel like I can relax. I can't beat that, so why try? In a sense, it is downhill from there, and that's O.K. I've been vindicated by someone other than myself."

The fame game: In truth, the film's electric reputation was secured before Cannes. When a working print (xeroxed title cards and a temporary sound mix) was unveiled last January at the U.S. Film Festival in Park City, Utah, people flocked to this sophisti-

cated chamber piece, hailing Soderbergh as a cross between Eric Rohmer and Woody Allen. Nine distributors immediately bid for its domestic release.

It was the first sign that *sex, lies and videotape* had metamorphosed into something other than a film, propelling Soderbergh into the realm of stardom. It was here that things got bizarre. Besieged by outrageous requests, Soderbergh began to feel like Sandy Bates, the deeply autobiographical director Woody Allen played in *Stardust Memories*.

The film is being distributed by the savvy New York-based Miramax, whose other films include Errol Morris' *The Thin Blue Line*, the controversial British hit *Scandal* and Bille August's 1988 Palme d'Or winner, *Pelle the Conqueror*. Soderbergh's concerns that the film couldn't live up to its advance billing were assuaged by the opening numbers it posted in New York and Los Angeles, where it set three-day box-office records.

Sex, lies and videotape (all lowercase, says Soderbergh, because "it looks better, and the film seems like a lowercase movie to me") is a funny, searingly dark portrait of a Southern yuppie couple's disintegration. Ann (Andie MacDowell) is uptight, frigid and thinks sex is overrated; her husband John (Peter Gallagher) is an inveterate womanizer and liar having a torrid affair with Ann's sultry younger sister Cynthia (Laura San Giacomo), an artist who supports herself by tending bar in a sleazy dive. This highly deceptive, precarious triangle is shaken up by the arrival of Graham (James Spader), John's former college roommate unseen in nine years. An enigmatic drifter, Graham shrewdly insinuates himself with Cynthia and Ann, in no time learning their private, painful secrets.

Soderbergh doesn't seem terribly surprised when you tell him how polished his first film comes off. "Well, I've had practice. I made a lot of short films, and particularly the last short film I made [*Winston*] was very much a warmup for this, very similar in tone and content and style. You could tack it onto the opening of *sex, lies* and it would go right across, form a smooth transition." Though he's an obsessive film buff, he avoided appropriating other films. "I decided early on that I didn't want to make films about other films. One of the things objectively I can look at *sex, lies* and say, there are no references to other films. It's just not a movie about other movies. I wanted it to be very unobtrusive in its style."

Soderbergh secured the financing from RCA/Columbia Pictures Home Video, shot on location in Baton Rouge, La., for five weeks and, despite the modest \$1.2 million budget, insists that "the film wouldn't have been any better if it cost any more. It may have been worse, actually." Soderbergh wrote the film's original draft in eight days, driving from Louisiana to Los Angeles. "I tend to write quickly, but never that quickly. I've never had anything fall on me like that, either before or since. It was a unique set of circumstances that I had gone through that led

Filmmaker
Steven Soderbergh
talks about his
big-time little movie,
sex, lies and videotape.

me to write it. I never considered it to be possible film material."

The finished script wasn't significantly altered from the original. "Structurally, it's the same. The tone changed a little. The first draft was pretty angry, a lot of it aimed inwardly," Soderbergh said. "The initial responses ... to the script were always *strong*, whether they were positive or negative. The people who got involved with the project believed it was going to affect people, and it just stuck out because there were some people who really loathed it. It just seemed to grab people."

A real grabber: Driven and intense, Soderbergh is extremely confident. His brutally frank assessments of Hollywood have upset some powerful industry brokers. In the now-notorious interview he gave to Terri Minsky in the May 18 *Rolling Stone*, he called the influential producers Don Simpson and Jerry Bruckheimer "slime, just barely passing for humans." But even more upsetting, for some, was the manner whereby he unburdened himself during the interview, revealing intimate, private demons that eventually serve as the basis for *sex, lies and videotape*.

"I regretted a lot of stuff I said in that article," he says. "The Simpson-Bruckheimer thing was just stupid in that I should know better than to slag people I've never met. When I saw the opening paragraph the floor opened up in front of me. That and some of the personal stuff—I was distressed I said a lot of it because it was hard on other people. Unfortunately, this was the only process of making a film that I haven't been through, and so I have to learn about it."

Even though Soderbergh remains the quintessential outsider, studio executives are breaking down his door. He recently moved back to Charlottesville, Va., where he's sequestered himself to finish his script of *The Last Ship*, William Brinkley's epic World War III novel about men and women who survive a nuclear holocaust. Sydney Pollack will produce the film, with Soderbergh writing and directing. "I won't even know how much it's going to cost until I turn in a script." He's also committed to do A.E. Hotchner's memoirs, *King of the Hill*, for Robert Redford's Sundance Institute.

Not bad for a guy who never attended college, who wrote six unproduced screenplays, including an ambitious musical commissioned by Tri-Star that was never made, and whose greatest early success was the Yes concert film, *9012LIVE*, for which he received a Grammy nomination. He has gone to great lengths to avoid the Hollywood fringe, the cons and hangers-on along for his ride. "I've gone to great pains to make sure ... my social life hasn't changed, the people I hang out with and do stuff with are still the same. That's where you can really get real screwed up. Fortunately, it was never a problem. I think most people sense that about me. That I want to make good films, do good work and I'm not compiling a list of all the cool people I've met."

He even refuses to list his own influences. "They're really wide-ranging. I mean, I have very eclectic tastes. Every film sets out to do something, and it either accomplishes it or it doesn't. And that's my criteria, whether it's to entertain me or enlighten me." Of his own career: "So far, it's worked out fine." ■

Patrick Z. McGavin is a writer living in Aurora, Ill.